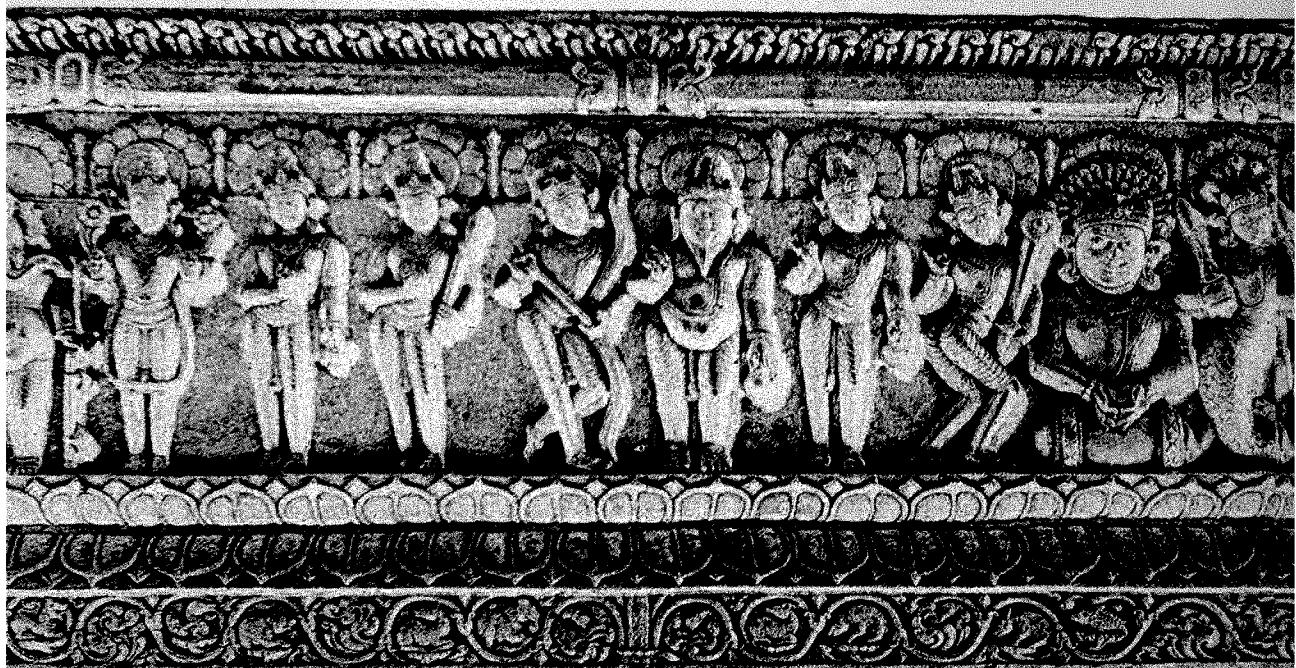


# **Journal of Ancient Indian History**

**Volume XXV • 2008-09**



*Edited by*

**Sudipa Ray Bandyopadhyay**



**DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE  
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

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# **Storage of Crops in Ancient India from c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 300— A Study from Buddhist Sources**

**SUDARSANA CHOUDHURY (BHADURI)**

A considerable change was observed in the material life of north India around c. 600 B.C. The plains of north India, especially, the middle Gangetic basin experienced the second urbanization during this time. A proliferation of arts and crafts was conducive to the development of trade and commerce in this period. So there exists a sizeable population who were not directly linked with agriculture. To sustain them sufficient agricultural surplus was required from the surrounding hinterlands. *Anguattara Nikāya* mentions the presence of sixteen *mahājanapadas* or territorial powers from Gandhāra in the north to Aśmaka in the south and from Avantī in the west to Aṅga in the east during this time. A majority of them were located in the middle Gangetic basin, that is in the eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Most of these *mahājanapadas* had a standing army and to maintain it sufficient agrarian surplus was required. This surplus should have to be stored properly because various sources suggest that floods and droughts were also not unknown in those days. There are both archaeological and literary evidences of various storage systems during the period of second urbanization. However, in this paper only the Buddhist sources have been taken into account. The purpose of this paper is to identify the role of various crop storage systems in the material culture of ancient India from c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 300 as evident from various Buddhist sources.

A large number of agrarian settlements grew in the middle Gangetic basin around c. 600 B.C. The climatic condition in the middle Gangetic basin was favourable for the development of settlements here. At present, greater part of this region receives 45 to 55 inches of rain. This area is drained by perennial rivers from the Himalayan glaciers. It is likely that the region had a thick forest cover during ancient times. The rapid use of iron from the first millennium B.C. perhaps helped to clear the land and made it cultivable. The silt deposited by the annual inundation of the perennial snowfed rivers left the soil hard and fertile. Iron implements were used to till this soil. The fertility of the soil and the use of iron implements together were responsible for producing enough surplus. Rice was the main crop in this region. References of paddy transplantation are also found in the Pali texts. A new variety of rice namely *sāli* appeared during this period. Fine *sāli* variety of rice was associated with Magadha region. Apart from rice, sugarcane and cotton were also cultivated. Different types of agricultural activities are mentioned in various Buddhist texts.<sup>1</sup> However, where paddy was the single crop, a substantial amount of excess was required at each harvest, for storing and utilizing it during the unproductive season. So, there was a need to increase the production. This required more land to be

brought under cultivation, more labour and irrigation projects. The use of land and irrigation in the middle Gangetic plain unlike the western Ganga valley, required not only intensive labour but also the organization of labour on lines of co-operative interaction.<sup>2</sup> There were references of *dāsa-karmakara* (slaves, servants, and hired labourers) in the fields of *rājā-kula* (the land owing *ksatriya* clans) in the *Kuṇāla Jātaka*, The *Ānguttara Nikāya* and the *Dīgha Nikāya*.<sup>3</sup> The availability of the land, labour and irrigation systems were responsible for the production of surplus, which in turn were able to sustain a large number of population. Emergence of various types of crafts were also found during this time, among which iron works and pottery were important. The pottery of this time was represented by Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW). This period also witnessed the beginning of organizations of industries under the names of *gana*, *pūga* and *saügha*.<sup>4</sup> Flourishing trading activities along with the use of punch-marked coins were observed during this time. The surplus from agriculture was utilized in trade by the *gahapatis*. It was from the families of *gahapatis* that the *sethis* emerged. *Kṣatriyas* also took part in the trade. Thus a complex society had emerged with the intensification of *varṇa-jāti* differentiation. The *varṇa* system became much more defined. The power of the *kṣatriyas* increased during this time. The use of iron was restricted previously in the manufacturing of weapons, which led to an advancement in military machinery. The *kṣatriyas* could extract more surplus, and with this they could maintain a standing army and an efficient bureaucracy. Thus, in the period under consideration strong administrative powers, *janapadas* and mercantile classes emerged for utilizing the surplus. The ideal site for the storage of surplus crops was the granary, located in an urban space.

The development in material life witnessed the gradual concentration of power in the hands of four monarchical powers, namely Kośala, Vatsa, Avantī and Magadha and one non-monarchical clan, the Licchavis. Most of these powers maintained a strong and sizeable army and a hierarchy of officials, the maintenance of which required sufficient amount of agrarian surplus. The concentration of coercive powers in the hands of the king enabled him to extract levies from agrarian, industrial and commercial resources. The levies were usually collected in kind. Proper storage of these levies was required. A king of Kāśī is described in the *Mahāvagga* as very wealthy with a full treasury and a storehouse (*mahaddhano paripuṇṇa kośakoṭṭhāgāla*).<sup>5</sup> there is also mention of a big granary in the *Ānguttara Nikāya*.<sup>6</sup>

Granaries were also found in the houses of rich *gahapatis* during this period. The granary of Menḍaka *gahapati* is referred in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. Narendra Wagle has highlighted the affluence of Menḍaka *gahapati* who by washing his head and sweeping his granary filled it with grains by his psychic power.<sup>7</sup> There are also references of stores of food attached to *saiṅghas* in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.<sup>8</sup>

Among these *mahājanapadas*, Magadha became more powerful than the others.

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Magadha reached the zenith of its power under the imperial Mauryas. The Mauryas maintained a standing army and a powerful bureaucracy and to sustain it a large agricultural surplus was required. The Mauryans collected various types of taxes. Most of these were collected in kind and were stored in the royal granary. The mention of *kōsthāgāra* is found in the *Divyāvadāna* and *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*.<sup>9</sup> The information provided here indicates the importance of granary in the Mauryan period. The importance of the post of the *kōsthāgārika* is also mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*.<sup>10</sup> Though the information given here are not as all-encompassing as in the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, still it can be gathered from here that the granary during the Mauryan period was an important structure.

The post-Mauryan period saw a spurt in urbanization in both north India and Deccan. The agriculture in this period became much more developed. That the state effort was replaced by individual efforts regarding agrarian expansion during this time is justified by references from *Milindapañho*.<sup>11</sup> There are references of two varieties of rice namely *vrīhi* and *sāli* in the *Milindapañho*.<sup>12</sup> Several new crops were cultivated during this time along with the traditional crops. The *Milindapañho* gives a list of activities connected with agriculture.<sup>13</sup> The overall prosperity in agriculture was conducive to the development of fulltime professions in craft and commerce. The increasingly better utilization of the monsoon wind system was instrumental to the brisk maritime trade with Roman empire from the first century A.D. The growth of arts and crafts and the brisk trade with the Roman empire had its effect on the money economy of this period, which had penetrated deeply into the life. Urbanization reached its peak during the period from c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300. North India, Deccan and the far south became studded with rich towns.

An ideal city of this time is represented in literature as having its granary overflowing with grains. In the *Milindapañho*, Sākala is described as a city with warehouses full of grains along with other merchandise.<sup>14</sup> An ordinary city is also described in the *Milindapañho* as one full of grains.<sup>15</sup> Thus, sufficient agrarian surplus was present in the adjoining hinterland of the cities. Surplus was collected in the form of revenue and were stored in the granaries. References of granaries as store houses of taxes are found in the *Jātaka* tales. In the *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, there is a mention of a tax-collecting official (*donamāpaka*) measuring the rice paid to the king in the royal granary.<sup>16</sup> This has led N.C. Bandyopadhyaya to conclude that the produce of the fields were first transferred to the public granaries for *excision* of royal tithe before taking this to the barns of respective owners.<sup>17</sup> According to the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* (c. first century B.C. to first century A.D.) it was the duty of the king to take care of the granary.<sup>18</sup> The story of the *Kāka Jātaka* gives an image that the royal granary was situated close to the elephant's stable.<sup>19</sup> The *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* also prescribed its location near the elephant's stable.<sup>20</sup> In the *Kāka Jātaka*, there is a reference of a female slave who was in charge of the granary. So there

were staff attached with the granaries. A list of staff attached with the granaries are also found in the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*.<sup>21</sup> This indicates the importance of the granary in contemporary political life. Granaries are also found depicted in Amaravati reliefs. Here, they are provided with thatched roof and one of the structures is depicted close to the *prākāra* or rampart wall Krishna valley.<sup>22</sup>

Private ownership of granaries by individuals, mentioned in contemporary Buddhist literature, reflects on overall prosperity during this period. Granary was considered as one of the *sapta-ratna* in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*.<sup>23</sup> In the *Milindapañho*, grain is considered as one of the seven treasures of a rich man's property.<sup>24</sup> According to the *Asampadāna Jātaka*, thousand wagons loaded with best rice were stored in the granary of a rich merchant (*śresthin*) in Varanasi.<sup>25</sup> So granaries were present in the house of rich and distinguished people dwelling in the city. Granaries or barns were also found attached with many houses in the village. In the *Gahapati Jātaka* and the *Gāmani Canda Jātaka* similar types of granaries are mentioned.<sup>26</sup> The *setthis* and the rich *gahapatis* had a group of people working in their households and fields. The household labourers were usually paid in grains. So a part of the store in the granaries were used for paying or feeding the household labourers or slaves. Besides personal use, the grains stored here were sometimes used as mercantile commodity. In other contemporary sources mention of rich grain-merchants are found. Grains were also used as means of exchange. In the *Sālikedāra Jātaka*, the parrot king says that he is paying a debt and also granting a loan with the grains which he stole from the field of a *brāhmaṇa*.<sup>27</sup> It seems from the *Jātaka* stories, *Mahāsupina Jātaka*<sup>28</sup> and the *Kumbha Jātaka*<sup>29</sup> that common people also had barns attached to their houses. So granaries were not the sole possessions of rich people both in cities and villages. In the *Gahapati Jātaka*<sup>30</sup> and *Gāmani Canda Jātaka*<sup>31</sup>, the barns are present quite at a height above the ground because there is mention of climbing the granary. At the same time there are evidences of underground stores in the *Ucchitttha Bhatta Jātaka*<sup>32</sup>. The prevalence of underground stores during this period is proved by archaeological evidence from Khairadih<sup>33</sup> in Uttar Pradesh, Champa<sup>34</sup> in Bihar and Nevasa<sup>35</sup> in Maharashtra.

In the *Devadhamma Jātaka*, it is mentioned that a squire of Śrāvasti (Sāvatthi) before joining the brotherhood, built for himself a chamber to live in, a room for fire and a store room.<sup>36</sup> He joined the brotherhood after he had stocked his store with rice, ghee and the like. According to the *Vinaya text*, a *saṅghārāma* should have store room (*kottthaka*). Archaeological evidences of store rooms attached with Buddhist monasteries were found belonging to the post Mauryan period. Monasteries with store rooms belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period were found in Taxila. Store rooms were found in the monasteries of Mohra-Moradu and Jaulian and Lalchak.<sup>37</sup> In some of the monasteries like Mohra-Moradu and Jaulian they were attached with kitchens. It is interesting to note that most of the monasteries like Jaulian belonging to the Parthian or early Kuṣāṇa times did not

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have any kitchen when they were built. the kitchens were added at a later period in these monasteries. This indicates the gradual increase in prosperity of the monasteries.

The items stored in the royal and personal granaries are also mentioned in the *Jātaka* tales. In most of the *Jātaka* stories mention of rice as an item of storage is quite common. In the *Mahāsupina Jātaka*, there is mention of pulses and molasses as items of storage in the granary.<sup>38</sup> In the *Devadhamma Jātaka*, ghee is mentioned as an item of the granary. So rice was not the only item stored here.<sup>39</sup>

The overall prosperity of the people is very much reflected in the storage systems practised during this time. Barns and store rooms were present in the houses of rich people as well as ordinary people. This also indicates the anxiety of common people to deal with emergency situations. There is frequent mention of famines in early Buddhist texts and the *Jātaka* stories. Floods are also mentioned in the *Mahāvagga*<sup>40</sup>, the *Milindapañho*<sup>41</sup> and the *Jātaka* tales.<sup>42</sup> Destruction of crops by birds, beasts and thieves are mentioned in the *Jātaka* tales.<sup>43</sup> In the *Cullavagga* corn diseases are mentioned.<sup>44</sup> That Hailstorms also destroyed crops is evident from the *Milindapañho*.<sup>45</sup> In the *Kalpadruma Avadāna*, a rich man of Śrāvasti collectively undertook to feed the famine stricken.<sup>46</sup> Thus he must have enough stores in his personal granary so that he could feed the famine stricken people. In the *Jātaka* stories, there is also mention of distribution of grains from royal granary in times of famine.<sup>47</sup>

The gradual change in the material life from c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 300 had a direct link with the crop stroage systems that were practised in the various stages of development during this time as is evident from the Buddhist sources. In the early Buddhist texts the references to royal as well as personal granaries are few compared to the later texts. This may be due to the fact that political system was still relatively decentralised in the earlier period as has been pointed out by Romila Thapar.<sup>48</sup> Urbanization became widespread during c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300. Kiln fired bricks were used for building during this time instead of mud bricks and timber of earlier period. The towns were also well-planned during this time. Both north and south India became studded with rich and prosperous towns. All these indicates the presence of adequate surplus, which is very much justified by the frequent mention of royal granaries and private barns in the Buddhist texts of this period. The surplus was collected in the form of various taxes and stored in the royal granary as has been suggested by various Buddhist texts. The powerful rulers during this time maintained a standing army and an elaborate bureaucracy who were sustained by the surpluses stored in the royal granary. In the *Jātaka* tales there is frequent mention of erection of almhouses (*dānasālā*) at important centres of the town to distribute food to the indigent throughout the kindgom.<sup>49</sup> Buddhist texts also show how grains were given as loans to the needy or distributed among the famine stricken rulers from the royal treasury. In a *Jātaka* tale there is reference of an individual effort to feed the famine

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stricken people. So the cities during this time had rich people with flourishing barns and granaries. Thus, it can be gathered from Buddhist literature that the surplus stored in the royal and personal granaries were not merely used for basic subsistence. The channelling of surplus as loans or for dealing with emergency situations has been suggested by various Buddhist texts. The *Jātaka* stories also give an impression that ordinary people were quite rich during the period c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300, since there are many references to granaries of ordinary people in these stories. Thus, the reference of granaries and personal stores in Buddhist literature indicates the overall material prosperity during this period.

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Sākala is usually identified with Sialkot in Punjab. It is described as a *nagara* and also as a *nānāputabhedhana*. The term *putabhedana* means a place where merchandise were open. According to Ranabir Chakravarti, the prefix *nānā* indicates the fact that at Sākala diverse commodities and merchants from different places converged. Chakravarti, Ranabir, *Trade and Traders in Early Indian Society*, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 93-95, Manohar.

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## **In Search of Technology: Journey from Ai Khanum to Mathura via Taxila (200BC — 300AD)**

**SUCHANDRA GHOSH**

The post-Mauryan period in Indian history can be viewed as a period which saw the emergence and gradual crystallization of contacts between centers of power in the north-west and other regions of the subcontinent. There was an impressive movement of men and merchandise resulting in exchange of ideas and knowledge. Interaction of one kind or another between the Indo-Iranian borderlands (the river Indus forms the eastern boundary and the western border is defined by the highlands of the Iranian plateau, it is virtually the only overland access to the Indian subcontinent from the west) and the Doab became more intense as the major urban centers of the period like Taxila in the north-west and Mathura in the Doab were located on the great trade route that linked Gangetic region with the north-west. There was another important archaeological site called Ai Khanum in Afghanistan which perhaps had linkages with Taxila and further east. The productive forces achieved the highest level of development in this period. This is reflected in the archaeological findings from Ai Khanum, Taxila and Mathura which demonstrate a very rich material culture. Minor objects like beads, utensils, jewellery, tools, glass objects etc. found from these sites in their own way betrayed examples of technological understanding. Interestingly, some texts of the period in question indicate a society where people made the best use of their technological know-how.

This paper aims to make a preliminary survey of the technological situation, particularly relating to things of every day use, of some areas beginning from Ai Khanum in Afghanistan to Mathura in the Doab, having Taxila as the meeting point between the east and west in the post-Mauryan period. The text primarily used in this presentation is *Aṅgavijjā*. The *Milindapañho* is another contemporary text which will also be referred to. There are many references relating to professions, utensils and others which convey a definite idea of technological understanding and which sometimes converge with archaeological finds. Thus with a melange of archaeology and text an attempt will be made to situate the technological tradition, relating particularly to minor objects, of the period and the geographical locale under review through the understanding of a practitioner of history.

We wish to begin our search from a Hellenistic site called Ai Khanum in northern Afghanistan. Situated at the confluence of the Oxus and its tributary the Kokcha, this site remained active from 3rd century BC to 145 BC. The material remains of Ai Khanum on the whole give us an image of economic prosperity.<sup>1</sup> Its location helped its masters to tap the resources of Badakshan, rich in Lapislazuli. Being situated on the bank of the

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Oxus, agriculture flourished. It appears that the most prosperous period of the city followed the victory of Eucratides to the south of the Hindukush. This was perhaps possible as Eucratides could extract and mobilise the resources from the areas to the south of the Hindukush. Unfortunately this economically and strategically important city came to an end with the nomadic invasion of c.145 BC. It is important to note that most of the materials unearthed from the site carry the distinctive imprint of Hellenism<sup>2</sup>.

Apart from the markers of Hellenism, the materials unearthed from Ai Khanum offers us a picture of developed scientific and technological knowledge. These are evident from remains of every day use. In this paper some of them would be mentioned. We may start with the vessels found from excavation which were gaily decorated with fret work and encrustation. Fret work encrustation requires knowledge of well developed ceramic technology. Wine presses unearthed at Ai Khanum definitely indicate local production of wine but at the same time presence of wine press is an indicator of the existence of a knowledge of agricultural chemistry in terms of fermentation of agricultural produces to generate alcoholic beverages. It actually presupposes a knowledge about not only the proper crops suitable for fermentation but also of the control of the fermentation process itself. It is important to mention that Ai Khanum could boast of exceptional glass wares apart from ceramics. Glass blowing technique was used which perhaps is an indicator of developed technology. The finding of glass prism and other glass made objects definitely bears a testimony to the existence of optical knowledge and practice in this particular area.<sup>3</sup> Goldsmiths were also extremely proficient and incrustation was a common phenomenon. The jewellery found at Ai Khanum comprise pearl necklaces, pendants with incrustations manufactured from the vast repository of glass, semi-precious stones, mother of pearl, bone and ivory. Gold plating technique was also known. This is evident from an interesting gold plated silver plaque of goddess Cybele found in the temple at Ai Khanum. In the history of western alchemy this has been identified as aurification or the art of faking gold. A bust of Hermes has been unearthed from the ruins of the gymnasium at Ai Khanum. This along with the gilded plaque of Cybele may perhaps indicate a developed knowledge of alchemical culture as the art of chemistry is ascribed to the mysterious Hermes Trismegistos, or Hermes, the Thrice Great.<sup>4</sup> In the reports of Ai Khanum we find that the excavators have designed an instrument for preparation of fine sections of agate (or may be other mineral bearing stone) used for ornamentation. It indicates perhaps the existence of a similar kind of stone sectioning technology.<sup>5</sup> The excavation report gives us an idea of the knowledge of minerals at Ai Khanum. These minerals comprise not only semi-precious or precious stones but also transition metal bearing ores and this later ingredients or minerals might have found their way in the production of coloured glass objects or faience bodies. Faience is made by breaking up quartz into small grains, adding a small amount of lime and fusing until the surface of

the quartz has flowed and cemented the whole into a solid mass. The quality of the faience depends upon the fineness of the grains and degree of fusing. It may be noted here that a faience head has also been found from this site. The head from Ai Khanum appears to be the largest faience sculpture known from the Hellenistic world.<sup>6</sup> The list of minerals also include the famous pigment orpiment. It is used for metallurgy, for medicine and also for cosmetics. There were ateliers of metallurgy where production and work on iron, copper, gold and silver were current. Though we do not have any artisan's zone at Ai Khanum, the nature of the iron objects spread through out the site pointed to the presence of a very efficient class of artisans. In the arsenal, the remaining scraps of iron slags suggested that there was atelier for fabrication of Graeco-Bactrian armaments. Of extreme interest is the discovery of four pieces of armour made of iron at the arsenal. These were parts of the cataphractus,<sup>7</sup> used by the Greek army in Ai Khanum to face the menace of the nomadic invaders who also wore heavy armour.

As regards Taxila, it is distinguished by its location on the great trade route that linked Gangetic region with the north west. In fact it is located on the shortest possible way from doab to Central Asia. It was also close to the Hazara hills and so able to command the roads to Kashmir and the upper Indus valley. The site is also distinguished by its agricultural productivity and the central Asian trade added to its prosperity. According to Arrian, 'it was the greatest of all the cities between the Indus and the Jhelum'.<sup>8</sup> Later Taxila was the residence of a Mauryan viceroy and perhaps an important administrative centre of the Indo-Greek kings. Alexander's stay in Taxila was quite short and so the Greek elements in the culture of Taxila was the contribution of the later Greeks.

The cultural influence of the Greek rule, as revealed in the excavated material is quite significant.<sup>9</sup> The greatest influence of the Greeks is seen in the technology of crafts, domestic utensils and in the manufacture of jewellery of various kinds.<sup>10</sup> Thriving commerce facilitated the infusion of technical expertise. This is evident from the techniques of granulation and filigree which are seen in the ornaments discovered from Sirkap. The technique of granulation i.e. the decoration of a gold surface with fine granules was known in Greece and the Near East from a long time. The most perfect examples of patterned granulation at Taxila are to be seen on the amulet containing tooth relic (no. 80) and an amulet case (no.82), both of which date around early 2nd cent. BC. The art of filigree is effected by soldering fine wire to the surface of the metal, the wire being either plain, twisted, plaited into a chain or beaded. Examples of filigree work may be seen in the disk pendants and this method of decorating gold and silver ornaments surely came from the Graeco-Roman world. Like Ai Khanum the art of incrusting jewellery with gems was also known in Taxila. Incrustation was probably known in India from early times and it was not a borrowing of Greek culture in Taxila. The semi-precious stones used in jewellery in Taxila were carnelian, chalcedony, agate, onyx, garnet, jasper, lapislazuli,

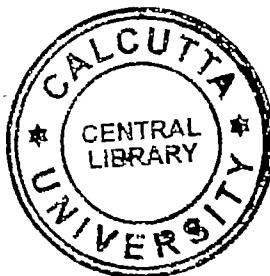
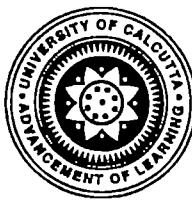
EJK-H00440-21-G165866

**Journal  
of  
Ancient Indian History**

Volume XXV  
2008-2009  
Silver Jubilee Volume

21/21

*Edited by*  
**Sudipa Ray Bandyopadhyay**  
*Head of the Department*  
*Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture*  
*University of Calcutta*



**UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**  
**1, Reformatory Street**  
**Alipur, Kolkata 700 027**  
**2009**

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**JOURNAL OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY**

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Published August, 2009

© University of Calcutta

Published in India by the Registrar, University of Calcutta  
87/1 College Street, Senate House, Kolkata 700 073  
and Printed by Pradip Kumar Ghosh, Superintendent,  
C.U. Press, 48, Hazra Road, Kolkata 700 019.

G165866

Price: Rs. 100/-

Reg. No. 2623B

ISSN No. 0075-4110

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Cover Designed by: Pinaki De

Navagraha Panel, Stone, c. 11<sup>th</sup> century CE, 24 Parganas, West Bengal.  
[Courtesy: Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta]

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rock crystal and so on. It is understandable that inlaying of gems in ornaments required technological knowledge. What is also noteworthy is that the semi-precious stones used in Taxila for incrustation were the same as those used in Ai Khanum. High technological efficiency in metallurgy has been noticed by Marshall in Taxila. Bronze containing 21-25 percent tin, with little lead but some antimony, was in general use in Taxila for casting domestic utensils, bells, ornamental pieces. In the opinion of A.K.Biswas, ‘the Taxilians preferred high tin bronze presumably on account of its easy melting and casting properties’.<sup>11</sup> The metal was also easily available from Afghanistan. Interaction with the Grecian world also helped in the development of technology. An important example was an unguent flask obtained from the Greek stratum of Sirkap. Its shape, material and technique indicate its Hellenistic character (flared base, long neck and wide projecting brim). It contains large percentages of tin and lead. The advantages of adding lead was that it made the metal stronger and easier to cast. As early as 4<sup>th</sup> century BC a technological breakthrough in Taxila was made and that was the earliest evidence of the use of zinc in the world. From Taxila we also learn about the copper-nickel alloy. It was evidently prepared by the smelting of mixed ores of copper and nickel which are known to occur naturally in the province of Yunnan in China and must have reached India through trade.<sup>12</sup> This alloy gave a durable silvery lusture and was used for minting coins by the Indo-Greek kings Euthydemus-II, Agathocles and Pantaleon. Perhaps nickel alloys of this kind have not so far been found at any other ancient site in India. As regards the bead industry, it has been seen that there have been technological development in bead industry during the early historical period and Taxila was no exception. Beads of glass, shell, faience, semiprecious stones, coral etc. have been unearthed. Metal wares of Taxila are also very impressive. Sirkap for the first time produced evidence for the use of copper, bronze and silver for household objects. The copper and bronze caskets were all cast and sometimes embossed. Bowls, cups, ladles, spoons, dishes and plates are all made in copper, bronze or lead.<sup>13</sup> Silver wares show the taste of the class of people who lived in Sirkap. Taxila has also produced evidence of glass and they were used for bangles as well as for vessels, among which those of particular importance are the translucent flasks. With this brief overview of select finds from Taxila, it is at least understandable that Taxila could boast of a technological knowledge which was a combination of indigenous and Hellenistic wisdom.

Our last destination is Mathura which was from an early age a natural and convenient area for human settlement. Mathura emerged as an urban centre only in the 3rd century BC. The rationale behind the choice of Mathura lies in the fact that Mathura is distinct from the other localities of the Ganga valley as it became an integral part in the political changes that were affecting north-western and western India from the second century BC. Right from the rule of the Indo-Greeks to the Kushanas, Mathura was always connected

to the then center of political gravity i.e. the north west and was also linked with the Delhi-Arvalli Axis and the Cambay node.<sup>14</sup> Thus this linkage provided some commonality in the material culture of Mathura with those of the north west. An important site very close to Mathura was Sonkh.<sup>15</sup> Numerous etched beads were found from excavation. Beads were made in agate, carnelian and chalcedony. Spherical beads etched with minute spots or dots all over the body were quite popular at Mathura in the first two centuries of the Christian era. This decoration is also found in the beads from Taxila. While commenting on the etched beads found from Mathura, C. Margabandhu opines, ‘it appears from the Mathura finds that the lapidarists exercised judicious selection of the material within their reach and improved on the natural form of the minerals by careful shaping with a sense of proportion and polishing. The bead maker also exhibited a keen sense of decoration and great deal of skill in the manufacture of etched beads of chalcedony, agate and carnelian.’<sup>16</sup> Among the potteries of Mathura, mention may be made of the Kushana glazed pottery. The glaze is a blue-green copper glaze based on lead with copper and iron combinations as colouring agents. From Sonkh a large number of metal objects have been unearthed. The metals are copper, iron, lead and brass. Those of copper and iron appeared through all the periods. The finds comprise weapons, tools, other implements, household and ornamental objects.<sup>17</sup> An interesting find from Sonkh are the spindle whorls. Terracotta spindle whorls of different shapes have been found mostly in the Kushana period.<sup>18</sup> It tallies with the image of Mathura as an important textile centre. The important antiquities of Mathura comprise games men, decorated discs, bangles and beads of semi-precious stones and bone, bone arrowheads, stone pestles and a variety of copper and iron objects. Luxury items include a comb and stand of ivory, soap stone caskets, varieties of semi-precious stone beads and gamesmen in the form of tiny animals. Mathura was not very lucky as regards natural resources and agrarian produce like Ai Khanum and Taxila but this was compensated by its nodal position on trans-regional trade routes. The Kushanas exploited Mathura’s nodal position and it became an important center of production for cotton, gold, iron and stone goods.

It may be said that craft and technology go hand in hand, however minimum may be the use of technological know-how and a look at the inscriptions from Mathura will acquaint us with the different craft specialists of the region. They were jeweler (manikara), goldsmith (suvarnakara), worker in metal (lohikaraka), iron manger (lohavaniya), dyer (rayaka) and so on. As these people were encountering people from other areas regularly, they perhaps made the best use of their indigenous knowledge as well as knowledge gained from outside influence for their end products. Thus in this period Mathura became very prosperous leading the author of Lalitavistara to comment ‘iyam Mathura nagari, riddha cha sphita cha kshema; cha subhiksha chakirna bahujanamanusya cha.’ It will perhaps not be out of place to mention here that the same Mathura was described in the

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*Ānguttaranikāya*, in the 6th century BC as a place where ground was uneven and dusty and alms were hardly obtainable from people.<sup>19</sup> Thus this complete transformation of Mathura was possible only with trade and urbanization which again was linked with technological understanding.

Now we shall turn our attention to a Prakrit text called *Āngavijjā*<sup>20</sup> belonging probably to the Kushana period or a little later. It must be categorically stated that this is no attempt to match the literary image with the archaeological evidence briefly mentioned above. The text is used here in order to suggest how technological understanding of a society is reflected in textual imagination. *Āngavijjā* is a text which belongs to western India written in Maharashtra Prākrit. As in the post Mauryan period north-west India to Gujarat fell within an ethnic interaction zone referring to *Āngavijjā* would probably not be illogical. In spite of the cultural plurality in the geographical locale of our choice, there was some sort of homogeneity in the region which fostered a spirit of interaction and mingling among the people.

In the 28th chapter of *Āngavijjā* we find a long list of professions. Without going into the details of the number of professions mentioned, what is fascinating is the micro level distinction made between some of the professions. Thus we have lac dyemaker (alittakakara), dyer (rayaka), dyer specializing in red (rattarajjaka), lacquer worker (jatukara), all known by their distinct specialization which definitely needed specialized knowledge. Again silk weaver (kosejja / kosa kara) and bark-fibre weaver (vaga) are separately mentioned indicating use of different technology for the weaver's craft. Apart from the mention of bronze smith, iron smith, utensil maker, metal workers also include lapidary (manikar) and kottaka (inlayer). Though the references to other metal workers are quite common in early India, kottaka (inlayer) is not always listed among the crafts person. However, that the technology of inlaying was known is evident from the finds of Taxila and Ai Khanum. In the domain of textile (chapter 31), *Āngavijjā* makes interesting references. Apart from mentioning basic textile materials and the knowledge of gold brocade (suvanna patta) and tinsel printing (suvanna khasita), it refers to a kind of cloth called 'loha jālika' which must have been a kind of warrior's dress and could be partially equated with the cataphractus that we have found in Ai Khanum and see in the Scytho-Parthian coins of this period. Production of loha jālika surely needed technological knowledge and reference to it in this text points to the acquaintance of the author of *Āngavijjā* with this kind of warrior's dress. Granulation was also known. It refers to a class of bowl called panasaka which had its outer body granulated like that of a jack fruit.

Another text that we would like to refer to is called *Milindapañho*.<sup>21</sup> Information supplied by the *Milindapañho* regarding technological knowledge is minimal. But the objective behind referring to this particular text is its contemporaneity with the period discussed here along with its geographical locale i.e. north-west. It describes the city of

Sākala which has been identified with Sialkot, now in Pakistan. Milindapañho while narrating about metal craftsmen present in that city, excluding blacksmiths, states that they could manufacture articles from gold, silver, lead, tin, copper alloys, iron and even knew how to debase metal for use. It also makes minute differentiations between professions e.g. bow manufacturers and bow-string makers are placed in different categories. Other professions mentioned are dyers, dye manufacturers, cotton-thread spinners, carvers in ivory and many others. It was a city where people from different places converged thereby resulting in exchange of ideas and definitely expertise. The shops are described as full of silver, bronze and stone ware which were probably locally made. There is an indication that the shops were filled with an abundance of alluring jewels and it was frequented by crowds of elegant merchants. Thus the image gathered from the representation of Sākala is that the people of the city must have had an idea of the technological tradition present in that period.

Thus archaeological material, substantiated and supplemented by literary references indicate remarkable technological know-how relating to chemical practices, metallurgy, metal working, production and colouring of glass, making of weapons, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, jewellery and many more. This was perhaps possible because of free movement of people, trade and ideas. Other important factor behind technological advancement in the area under review was definitely its multiprong linkages of which the Central Asian connection played a significant role. People of the north west were themselves of varying cultures and the region displayed networks of wide ranging territorial and inter-civilizational contacts. Availability of raw materials and location on the trade routes were an added advantage. The gulf of Cambay also provided another important linkage. According to the Periplus of the Erythraean sea coins of Apollodotus and Menander were in circulation in Barygaza. Again we have coins of Strato, Menander, Antimachus and Apollodotus at Mathura which is an indicator of commercial links between Mathura and Barygaza. Cambay was the center of lapidaries' art and it had a ready market in Barygaza. The political authorities ruling in this region in the post Mauryan period were the Indo-Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushanas. Kshatrapa rule was witnessed at Gujarat and Mathura for a certain period of time. Multiple political powers did not act as a deterrent to exchange of ideas and movements of men. Uninterrupted interaction between different areas could be noticed irrespective of political authorities. The traders who are said to be the purveyors of culture had some sort of autonomy of their own which is clearly reflected in the profusion of guild like organizations in this period. So one does not perceive any break in the continuity of the flow of ideas and exchange of technological expertise with changing political authority. Nevertheless when a vast region remains under the control of a single political authority it is natural that the situation becomes more favourable. This was applicable to the Kushana rule which

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extended from Central Asia to the Ganga valley for a substantial period of time and thus offered political unity. This political unity was congenial to resource extraction, mobilization and utilization of these resources for technological development.

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## **Legacy of Gandhara Art Style : A Reappraisal**

**ASOK K. BHATTACHARYA**

In Indian art-history Gandhara art occupies a very uncertain position possibly for its extraneous origin and eclectic character. This uncertain position was noted by Stella Kramrisch about fifty years ago when she made the axiomatic observation that “it is Indian and colonial from Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India.” And as for its contribution to the development of Indian sculpture, John Marshall, a pioneer in the study of Gandhara art, states that “Hellenistic art never took a real and lasting hold on India” while Kramrisch asserts that “All that this school .... did contribute to the fabric of Indian art amounts to very few motifs speedily transformed, such as the rendering of drapery of the Buddha’s robe.” In the same vein S.K. Saraswati observes, “In the fabric of Indian art as a whole the Gandhara school occupies nothing more than that of a passing phase and has only a very slight contribution, except in a certain manner and a few motifs which, again, were quickly Indianized.” In recent time R.C. Sharma has renewed the same view by asserting that “The Gandhara school did not leave a permanent impact and its contribution towards the development of Indian art is rather negligible.” Keeping fully in view this general consensus of the three generation of art-historians on the slightness and negligibility of Gandhara school’s impact on the subsequent development of Indian art, I am attempting in this paper to look at the issue from a fresh viewpoint and re-examine certain stylistic elements of the Gandhara art to which, in my opinion, sufficient importance was not attached by the previous scholars.

It is well-known that much of the above noted views rests on the scintillating arguments of A.K. Coomaraswamy’s thesis on the Indian origin of the Buddha image, published as early as 1927. Based on the profound understanding that “Nothing beyond what is self-developed in the brain of a race is permanently gained, or will survive the changes of the time” (Flinders Petrie, in *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*), the epoch making study of Coomaraswamy covers such diverse aspects as religious necessity, iconographical antecedents, chronology of dates and sequence of style of the Gandhara as well as Mathura Buddhas before asserting primacy of the latter in the emergence of worshipable image of the Master. The contention of my paper is not to question this thesis but to assess the importance of the Gandhara elements in the evolution of fully matured Buddha forms of the Gupta age. In this examination it would be necessary to refer to the views of Coomaraswamy as given in his essay, “Origin of the Buddha Image” (under section v. entitled “Style and Content : Differentiation of Indian and Hellenistic Types”).

The fully matured Buddha forms, whether standing or seated, show certain common characteristics both at Mathura and Sarnath, while a few elements exclusive to each place.

Among the common characteristics most singular are a subtle feeling for movement indicated by a minimal flexion of the body and gestures of hands and a facial expression that is spiritually enliven and physically graceful. Besides, noteworthy both at Mathura and Sarnath is the diaphanous drapery of the Buddha covering both the shoulders (*ubhayānsika*) but without concealing the sense of a pulsating body underneath. Notwithstanding these and a number of other common features, the Mathura and Sarnath Buddhas distinguish each other by their exclusive elements, of which possibly most pronounced is the presence of striation on the robe of Mathura Buddhas. This striated robe, though admitted by all scholars as representing a marked legacy of the plastically treated folded robe of the Gandhara Buddhas in an abstraction achieved through time, has not given sufficient importance by the scholars. But this very stylistic feature clearly testifies to Mathura's indebtedness to Gandhara. The over-garment showing parallel swags connects the Mathura Buddhas with the draped statues of the Imperial Rome in one hand and the subsequently produced images of the Master through centuries in India and abroad on the other. This element survived many changes of time and therefore, should not be considered as a passing one.

But undoubtedly still more significant are the qualities of movements and gracefulness that manifestly differentiate the classical Buddhas of the Gupta period from those of the Kushana Mathura. It would be worthwhile to examine from which experiences the Gupta sculptors acquired these qualities and at which stage of its evolution. Coomaraswamy claims that "The Gupta is a normal and direct development to the Mathura type" and "there is no room at any point in the development for the intercalation of any model based on Hellenistic tradition." According to him the stylistic sequence of the development begins with the Parkham yaksha and culminates in the Mathura-type Buddha of the Gupta period. In this line of development he places Friar Bala's Bodhisattva, dated in the third year of Kanishka, in the intermediary position. It is indeed obvious that, notwithstanding the variance noted in their plastic modelling, these two images belong to the same genre, both showing similar strict frontal pose, stolidity and ponderosity. In fact Friar Bala's Bodhisattva represents the archetype of the Mathura Buddha that, both in seated and standing forms, was numerously produced during the days of Kanishka and his immediate successors and carried to distant Buddhist centres from Mathura. This archetype Buddhas are invariably with the right hand raised to assure, while the left placed on loin, irrespective of their seated or standing position. In fact, the upper part of the figures in both the positions shows perfect similarity in physiognomical structure as well as in the delineation of details, such as shaven head with a top-knot *ushnīsha*, upper-garment placed across the body and over the left shoulder, and vivid eyes. But the most remarkable characteristic of the type is its immobility. The overall disposition of the type is so distinct from the fully matured elegant and perceptibly enliven Mathura Buddhas of the Gupta age that it is almost impossible to connect them linearly with the archetypal Mathura Buddhas of which Friar

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Bala's Bodhisattva is a well-known example. It seems therefore that Coomaraswamy's assertion in regard to straight-line development from Friar Bala's Bodhisattva to the Mathura-Buddha of the Gupta age rests more on his personal conviction than on stylistic evidence, especially when he denies any possibility of interpolation of influence of any model based on Hellenistic tradition (**Plate-I, Fig. 1**). For there is no lack of examples to show that from the very beginning the Gandhara Buddhas are endowed with a sure feeling of movement. Starting from the seated Buddha on the lid of Kanishka's relief Casket from Shah-Ji-Ki-Dheri and the standing Buddha relief on the Bimaran Reliquary to the Hoti Mardan Buddha, in which Benjamin Rowland noted Praxitelean *dehanchement*, this sense of movement is very much present, and manifested in particular with the help of corresponding disposition of two hands, one in raised posture and the other holding the end of the robe. The gesture of movement continues in the Loryan Tongai Buddha forms, and in a stage reached Mathura to play catalyst in transforming ever-static archetypal Mathura Buddha/Bodhisattva forms into images endowed with a sense of latent dynamism. A close comparative study of the Gandhara and Mathura Buddhas, and their inter-action, would show how the former infused in the latter a gradual feeling for movement and finally brought a qualitative change in the fifth century A.D.

The other remarkable quality that distinguishes the Gupta classical Buddhas, especially of Sarnath, is no doubt the exquisite gracefulness of the facial expression achieved by a rare synthesis of the physical grace with the spiritual bliss. The source of the spiritual happiness illuminating in nature is obviously indigenous and related with the practice of *yoga*. But in attaining physical grace (**Plate-I, Fig. 2**) it seems that the Indian artist clearly leaned upon the expertise of the Gandhāra artist of Hellenistic tradition. Through a soft delineation, with the least variation of plastic plane, even removing the possibility of its jerk at eye-brow line, the Sarnath sculptor achieved a Buddha head that is, from the viewpoint of aesthetic charm almost unattainable.

A reference to several Buddha heads coming from Taxila (**Plate-I, Fig. 4**), of which some are in stucco, may help in identifying the antecedent of the Sarnath heads so far as their plastic manipulation is concerned. The known distance between the Taxila (**Plate-I, Fig. 3**) and Sarnath Buddhas, both in relation to time and space, may raise doubt about their possible contact. But the terracotta Buddhas discovered at Devnimori, a Gujarat site situated close to the main route running from Taxila to the western seaboard, and datable towards the end of the fourth century A.D., could have possibly bridged the gap on both score. Devnimori, apparently an outer limit of the Gandhāra culture zone, emulated in many ways the art and architecture as practiced at Taxila. It is quite likely that the conquest of the Śaka-kshatrapas by Chandragupta II, sometime towards the very end of the fourth century A.D., established regular contact between centres like Devnimori in western India and places like Sarnath in deeper India. As the finest Sarnath Buddhas were carved from

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about the middle of the fifth century A.D., this stylistic sequence is not inconsistent with the broader historical development of the time.

The above discussion, based chiefly on the comparative study of the cognizable stylistic elements, may help us to look at the legacy of Gandhāra art from a fresh viewpoint. No doubt that the best amongst the Mathura and Sarnath Buddhas are essentially Indian, both in form and content, but there seems to have some role of the Gandhāra school in their final stylistic formulation. This role, if not considered vital, is sufficiently significant, and not just a passing phenomenon nor negligible.

### Notes and References

1. Friar Bala's Bodhisattva, dt 3rd year of Kaniṣka.
2. Bodhisattva from Mathura.
3. Bodhisattva from Mathura.
4. Buddha/Bodhisattva from Kātra mound, Mathura, 1st century A.D.
5. -do-
6. Mathura archetype seated Buddha relief on the *stūpa* drum.
7. Reliquary of king kanishka from Shah-ji-ki-Dhari, 1st century.
8. Reliquary from Bimaran, 1st century.
9. Buddha and Nāga Apalāla (Lucknow Museum) 2nd century A.D.
10. Buddha from Loriyan Tangai (Gandhara), Indian Museum, Late 2nd century.
11. Buddha, do.
12. Seated Gandhāra Buddha.
13. -do-
14. Buddha head, Mathura.
15. Standing Buddha with folded our-grant Mathura, 2nd century.
16. Standing Buddha, Govindanagar, Mathura.
17. Standing Buddha from Kātra site, Mathura, Late 3rd or early 4th century.
18. Buddha Mathura, 5th century.
19. Buddha, Sultanganj, c. 7th century.
20. Buddha, 10th-11th century.

# Pan-Asian Trade and Trade Routes Connecting India with China

HARAPRASAD RAY

## The Central Asian Silk Road:

Before the discovery of the sea route to India, Silk Road through the Central Asian region was the most important connection between the East and West. The trade route was never called Silk Road until Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, a German geographer gave it this romantic name in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Silk Road originated in the second century BC for military and political purposes rather than trade. In order to seek allies against the Huns (Xiongnu), the intrepid tribe's repeated invasion, a court official named Zhang Qian was sent by the Chinese emperor Han Wudi of the former Han dynasty (26 BC-24 AD) to the Western Regions. However, on his way to the Western Regions the Huns (Xiongnu) captured Zhang and detained him for ten years. After escaping from the detention of the Huns, Zhang Qian continued his journey to Central Asia. Since at that time, local rulers like the Kusanas (Da Yuezhi) were satisfied with their status, they refused to ally with the Han empire. Although the mission failed in its original purpose, it fulfilled two objectives of far-reaching historical importance: (i) China came to know about the existence of India called Sindhu or Juandu (Jambu) at that time and (ii) Zhang Qian conveyed to China the importance of its neighbouring countries in the west and their most precious possession, the heavenly horse or the blood-sweating horse. On the other hand, the Central Asian states became more and more attracted to the goods produced in China. Silk, which was favoured by Persians and Romans, inaugurated the trade along the Silk Road.

The Han dynasty Silk Road began at the magnificent capital city of Changan (today Xian). The route took the traders westward into Gansu province through Lanzhou, Tianshui, Zhangye and Jiuquan along the Hexi Corridor, reached Jiayuguan, the giant barrier of the Great Wall, and the first key point of the route—the famous Dunhuang in the west end of the Hexi Corridor of Gansu province. It is one of the most well-known Chinese historical and cultural cities and the brightest pearl on the ancient Silk Road.

When the ancient Silk Road came out of the Hexi Corridor into Xinjiang, it broke into three main routes.<sup>1</sup> The Southern Route ran west along the northern foot of Kunlun Mountains, via Charkhlik (Ruogiang), Cherchen (Quemoy), Minfeng (Niya) and Hetian (Khotan), and then reached Kashgarh (Shule), another key point. It is presumed that 'sere', the Italian name for silk, originated from Kashgarh's ancient name Shule wherefrom all transportation of ancient silk was carried out. Until the fifteenth century, i.e. before the opening of the sea outlets to the west, Kashgarh (Kashi in Chinese) was the most significant

international trading port in west China. Marco Polo, in his famous travelogue, described Kashi as a prosperous port piled with goods and packed with numerous merchants.<sup>2</sup> The greatest advantage of Kashgarh was its unique geographical position. It was located at the juncture of China and other Asian countries, on a frontier that bordered India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. It was also adjacent to Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. On the map these eight countries form an actual geographical circle, with Kashgarh located at the centre.

From Kashgarh the Southern Route went over the Pamirs and reached India or passed through Afghanistan and Russian Central Asia to reach the Mediterranean or Arabia. The Central Route meandered west along the southern foot of the Tianshan Mountains, dotted by Loulan (also called Shanshan), Korla, Chucha and Aksu, and then crossed the Pamirs and led to Mari in Russia. The Northern Route rambled along the northern foot of the Tianshan Mountains, starting at Hami, and wound through Turfan (Turpan), Urumqi (capital of present day Xinjiang), and winding westward reached the Ili River Valley and led to areas as far as the Caspian and Black Seas.

The Silk Route, incredibly hazardous, entailed risks and hardships that are difficult to imagine. Vast waterless deserts, narrow mule-paths snaked through dark forests and along the cliffs of mountains overlooking deep gorges and over snow-bound passes of the Pamirs, it led to Tashkand, Samarkand, and finally skirting the southern shores of the Caspian Sea reached Iran and further. How many rivers did the traders have to cross? And how did they contend with bandits and warlords? And how much of what they had set out to sell actually got to its destination? We have no idea. Yet the Silk Road was in regular use by the trade caravans because the profits from the trade were enormous.

From India they took carved ivory, sandalwood articles, and gems and pearls. China excelled in silk and India in black pepper from Malabar. The black pepper from India was the first zesty spice that the people of Europe began to spice their food with. In the days of the Roman king Claudius, who reigned in the third century AD, black pepper was sold for its weight in silver. And as to the silk from China it was highly prized, being at one time paid for, weight for weight, with gold in Italy.

The fall of the Han Dynasty in the early third century AD caused the Silk Road trade to decline. But the rise of the Tang dynasty in the seventh century revived this commerce, and by the middle of the eighth century the route reached its height of glory. Trade on the road declined sharply till the thirteenth century, when the conquests of the Mongols ushered in an era of frequent and extended contacts between East and West. This increased contact created a demand for Asian goods in Europe, a demand that eventually inspired the search for a sea route to Asia. The discovery of a sea route from Europe to Asia in the late fifteenth century dealt a damaging blow to the Silk Road trade again. With less cost, harassment and danger, many goods and materials like porcelains that the Silk

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Road could not transfer were conveyed through the sea route. Besides, the Persians and the Italians had mastered the art of sericulture and thus the import of silk from the East was reduced. Since then, the prosperous Silk Road was on its downhill. The bustling streets, wealthy cities and solid ramparts now were submerged in the vast desert, and today, people can only trace their splendid history in the endless ruined and dilapidated remains.

### The Maritime Route :

The Chinese search for allies brought the country into contact with the West and parts of India, while the search for exotica and curios by the comparatively prosperous coastal Chinese areas brought China to the littorals of South and South-East Asia. The transhipment was done partly by the sea-faring Yue people. The earliest evidence of such Indo-China trade through South-East Asia comes from Chinese records. This was a sea-land-sea voyage. The well-known passage referring to Huangzhi in one of the earliest historical records entitled *Hanshu* (History of the [Former] Han Dynasty) written by Ban Gu (32-92 AD) gives information about trade between China and India via South-East Asia from the time of Emperor Wudi of the Former Han Dynasty (140-87 BC) to the early part of first century AD. Rhinoceros horns, elephant tusks, tortoise shells, pearls and jades, silver, copper, fruits and clothes were the items exchanged.<sup>3</sup> Around 3-6 AD a live rhinoceros was carried to China and was kept in the imperial garden.

The Chinese traders sailed into the South China Sea in merchant-ships of foreigners, known to China as the Yua (Austronesians), who took them to the south-eastern coast of Thailand (Yilumuo) and then to Shenli at the neck of the Malay peninsula for a ten-day long overland trip to Fugandulu, on the west of the peninsula, near Tavoy. Starting in October-November, the voyagers would reach the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in about ten months, around June-July, and another two months' sailing would take them to Huangzhi, that is, Vanga which was presumably known to the foreigners as Gange, capital of the region and a port city. In the early Christian era another all-sea route passed through the Singapore straits, known in the medieval period as Longya men (Dragon-teeth Gate). After crossing the strait the voyagers passed Pizong on the eastern side of the peninsula. The travel on this route was faster as it took only ten months to reach the then frontier of China at Xianglin in northern Vietnam of today. From the description in the text it appears that this route was preferred during the return voyage, for taking advantage of the favourable monsoon winds. Interpreters, the chief among whom acted as the envoy, accompanied the crew and private traders.<sup>4</sup> This is the first reference to Southeast Asia acting as the springboard for voyagers to the eastern zone of the Indian Ocean.

Our next reference is to the Funanese (southern Cambodia) embassy in Tamralipti (spelt as Danmai) looking for horses. Horses had great attraction for the emperors and kings, being a necessity for survival against their enemies. We do not know if the Funanese king supplied to China some of the horses brought from India, or if the Chinese envoy

of the Wu kingdom (third century AD) was successful in acquiring horses from India through the Tāmralipti port. The south Bengal port of Tāmralipti enjoyed the prestige of an international mart, as vouched by the *Periplus* and Ptolemy. Terracotta objects and a large number of seals in kharoshṭī and post-kharoshṭī scripts discovered in southern Bengal prove that the merchants of Kushana (of Yuezhi origin) exported horses and perhaps also rice to Southeast Asia. The evidence of Gang Tai (third century AD) of the Wu dynasty indicates contact between India and China through the Southeast Asian kingdoms of Funan, Geying, Yepoti (i.e. Java-Sumatra), Takkola and Linyi where a substantial number of Indian settlements existed. Evidence of such contacts is provided by the discovery of brāhmī-kharoshṭī inscriptions and other historical data.<sup>5</sup> The *Milindapañha* (Questions of King Menander) prove that a network of traders existed between India and China by way of ports like Takkola in Southeast Asia.<sup>6</sup>

Early in the fourth century AD the flow of Roman gold into India dwindled with the decline of the Roman Empire. At about the same time the Kushana Empire also broke into pieces and the depredations of the Hun culminated in the sack of the Chinese imperial capital Lyoyang in 311 AD. All these factors totally disrupted the Central Asian Silk Route and brought about a complete collapse in the supply of Central Asian gold by the merchants and others to India. The Indians, therefore, had to explore alternative sources of gold. The gold mines in Malaya and Burma appear to have kindled their hope. Hence, a part of Southeast Asia was known to the Indians as Suvarnadvipa (gold-producing coastal state). It was under this backdrop that the all-sea and sea-cum-land routes via the Southeast Asian region came to be in frequent use.

Under such circumstances, the Chinese monk Faxian (Fahien) who came to India through the Central Asian land route in the early fifth century chose to return home by sea route. From Tāmralipti he went to Sri Lanka and took a ship owned by a brahmans. However, the boat was caught in a sea storm and delayed his return home. His *Record of the Buddhist Kingdom* (*Fogno X*) leaves us in no doubt that Indian settlers in Java kept up the intercourse with their motherland and transacted trade with China also. They lived there in considerable number, as Faxian records that their religion (Brahmanism) flourished there.<sup>7</sup> It is also apparent that at that time no Chinese lived or traded there. It was shared among the Indians, Sri Lankans, Persians and the Arabs. The Arabs and the Persians have left abundant tales of sea voyages and maritime trade. It must be noted that no maritime contact was possible with China without crossing the Southeast Asian water and touching the fringes of the peninsula.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Southern Silk Route between Northeast India and China:**

I am not going to deal here in detail about the northeast Indian trade route through Myanmar and south and southwest China; I have already discussed this route in considerable detail in my article 'The Southern Silk Route from China to India: An

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Approach from India'.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in my recent book *Northeast India's Place in India-China Relations and Its Future Role in India's Economy*,<sup>10</sup> I have given exhaustive proofs of the existence of this route from both Chinese and other sources, including archaeological data while establishing the importance of the trade route to the economy of this vast region comprising northern Myanmar, south and southwest China, northeast India, including Bengal, Bangladesh, and, of course, in the further west Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal.

The Chinese records tell us about the failure of the Chinese European Wu's (147-48 BC) attempt to open up the trade route from the Chinese capital Changan in northwest China (near present day Sian, the capital of Shaanxi province) to northeast India through the region of hostile independent rulers of Yunnan and adjoining areas. If no trade had existed in the region these rulers would not have resisted the Han traders, they would have rather welcomed the prospect of trade with them. The Yunnan rulers' resentment against the establishment of direct trade between China and India at the cost of their profit as middlemen prevented the Chinese from getting access to India but trade in items like *cinapatta* and South Chinese square bamboo continued unabated.<sup>11</sup>

The Ahoms of Assam, known as Tai Shans (the Burmese called the Yannanese Tais on the northern Burmese border as Shans), followed the old route through the Patkai Range from Maulung in the Hukong Valley in Upper Burma and arrived at Tipam near the coal town of Mergherita in the Eastern Brahmaputra Valley around 1252 AD. A branch of it had even migrated to Assam, Cachar, Tripura and Manipur as early as the eighth century AD. The Tai people were distributed all over the region, from Yunnan to the southernmost extremity of Thailand.

For various reasons, both topographical and political, this route had to be supplemented or replaced at various times by alternative routes passing through Tibet into India. It is even presumed by some scholars that *shubu*, i.e. the cloth manufactured in Sichuan in South western China and *qiong* bamboo from Yunnan that the Chinese envoy Zhang Qian saw in the second century BC should have gone on the shorter and easier way via Tibet. We cannot say with certainty if this route was used for this particular purpose, but we have definite proof of its use during the Tang (618-907 AD) and later periods. During the Qing dynasty (1643-1911 AD), the latter part of which coincides with the British period in India, both the Bhutanese and Tibetan trade routes were used by people of either side for exchange of goods, sales and purchases. Apart from the route via Nathula Pass which led into India directly from Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyantse Pahari and Yadong, there were three other routes (two via Bhutan): the first from Tashi Lumpo (Shigatse Tibet) through Paro Pilo (Bhutan) to Buxa (near Alipurduar in North Bengal) from where Rangpur town (now in Bangladesh) was reached; the second route was by the valley of the Monas River in Bhutan via Tassigang and Dewangiri and Hajo, near the foothills north of Guwahati; the third route took the eastern course of Tsangpo (as Brahmaputra is called in Tibet)

and passed through Zedang (south bank of Brahmaputra east of Shigatse) and Tawang inside India in Arunachal and went further on to Hajo.<sup>12</sup> The last route has a historical significance. This was the roadway that Md. Bakhtiyar-i-Khilji chose to attack Tibet, and then the Chinese empire during 1202 or 1204 AD followed in 1226 AD by Sultan Giyasuddin.<sup>13</sup> This route must have been at that time the most frequently used trade route between Tibet, northeast India and farther with China.

The Indian trade items exchanged between India and China through south-western China – Burma route were: cotton or flax cloth (known as *bodie* in China), myrobalan, pineapple, jackfruit, cowries, coloured glaze, precious stones, pearls, peacocks, halcyons, elephants, and even orang-utans. Items like pearls and precious stones were south Indian objects taken to north-eastern India through Tāmralipti or Gange port. Archaeological finds have testified to the fact that Indian cowries, precious and semi-precious stones had a good market in both Yunnan and southwest China. From China, India normally imported beans, sulphur, borax, gypsum, silk, silk piece goods, wool, paper, nutmeg, musk, vermicelli, porcelain, resin, glass wares etc.<sup>14</sup>

Trade and transport work in the Tibetan sector was (and still is) carried out only by the Tibetans and a few Bhutanese (all of them known to us as the Bhutias). They brought down principally red and partly-coloured blankets, gold dust and silver, rock salt, chowries (mostly Yak tails), musks, some Chinese silks, munjit and bees wax. These they exchanged in northeast India for rice, lac, raw and manufactured silks of Assam, iron, cotton, dried fish and tobacco. Coming here in winter, they took care to return during February and March before the onset of the hot weather or rains.<sup>15</sup>

The medieval period saw an abundance of passes through the northern mountains leading to China, Afghanistan and the west, through Bhutan and Tibet. According to *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, a Persian work of the late thirteenth century there were as many as thirty-five passes between northeast India and Tibet which led to China, and through which horses were brought to Lakhnauti, the capital of Gauḍa in Bengal.<sup>16</sup> Of all these passes the safest and the most convenient was the one which connected the two important marts, Cuona (Tsona) within the border of Tibet, and Gegunshur, four miles away from Tsona within the border of Assam. The Tibetan merchants carried silver bullion to the amount of one lakh of rupees, besides a considerable quantity of rock salt for sale to the merchants from Assam and North Bengal, and purchased from the latter, articles like rice, Assam silk, iron, lac, otter-skins, buffalo horns and pearls. Though this information pertains to the eighteenth century, the articles of trade were possibly the same in earlier times as well. The Singpho tribes of present-day Arunachal on the other hand, followed the Assam-Burma route to China and used to procure copper, silver, tin and other articles from that country and exchanged them with Assam silk, ivory, musk, munjit, madder, etc., at the frontier market at Sadiya. To this mart, the Mishmis, the Hill-Minis and the Abors (Nishis)

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brought among other things gold, iron implements and woollen clothes from China. These tribes maintained their contact with China through the Mishmi hills route. Along the route through Bhutan, horses and Chinese silk were imported to northeast India from China and Tibet.

The *melas*, the fairs associated with the religious festivals, were also marts where goods were exchanged between people assembled from various places in the surrounding areas of Assam. The present town of Udalguri in the Darrang district of Assam happened to be the venue of the annual *mela* for Bhutanese trade, normally held between the dry season of January and February each year where these people combined socio-religious functions with trade. They came to this fair by a road linking Bhairav Kunda in the north and Udalguri, which was popularly known as the Bhutiya Road. The Bhutanese brought to the fair pony, dog, blanket, chilli, orange, whisky, musk, chowries (Yak tails), *hing* (asafoetida), *jabrang*, etc. for sale and purchased textiles and silk wear (presumably Assamese silk and *muga*), salt, and maybe perfumes and incenses also (the last two being items of re-export). All the four districts of Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Kamrup and Darrang are contiguous to Bhutan. Their visits during winter even today take them to Gupteswara Śiva temple on the north bank of Brahmaputra about 50 kilometres southeast of Udalguri. There they shave their head at a fixed point atop the hill nearby and perform *srāddha* ceremony for their ancestors. They make their pilgrimage to the Hindu temples in and around Guwahati, Siddheswar at Sualkuchi, and also to the Buddhist temple of Hayagrīva Mādhava, considered to be the sacred place of Tathāgata Buddha. They esteem the Hayagrīva (horse-faced) Mādhava as a Buddhist image.<sup>17</sup>

### The Nepal Routes<sup>18</sup>:

Now we shall introduce the little known Nepal routes between India and China via Tibet, details of which are known through the recent large scale excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department of Nepal with the assistance of foreign and Nepalese archaeologists. These routes approach India from different directions. Among them two are prominent.

One route starts southwest of Yunnan and thence moves north-northwest along the Sichuan valley west of Chengdu (capital of Sichuan province in southwest China) approaching Chando in eastern Tibet from where it bends south reaching Shigatse across the Tsangpo (the Tibetan name of Brahmaputra) and turning further south-southwest crosses the Kyirong (Jilong, Skiyadrong) on the Tibetan side of the Nepal border and then enters Nepal to reach Rasua Garhi on the Nepal side of the border. From here the road leads further south to reach the market towns in Nepal, from where it branches off to reach the various towns of India, namely, Jagbani, etc. This is an all-weather road. The Rasua-Kyirong road was used by the Tang envoy Wang Xuance to Harsha's court



in 658-659 AD. The same route was used by the invading armies of Nepal and Tibet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the Nepalese Marxists during the fifties and sixties of the last century to escape to Tibet when pressed hard by the Nepalese troops.

The other route emanates from the southern road linking Shigatse with Rudok (Ridu), Shiquanhe (in Ari or Ngari area) and then leading to Xinjiang. The road passes through Mustang in northern Nepal on the Tibet-Nepal border and reaches the Muktinath area, an important Hindu and Buddhist pilgrimage centre. It extends to Kali Gandak or Gandaki valley in the south joining the high Tibetan plateau, the Nepalese Himalayan foothills and India. Large caravans of grains from the south upland and salt from the north used to be transported to Nepal and India along this route since ancient times. Thus the Kali Gandaki route became a site of frequent military conflict for exercise of political control and economic gain. Archaeological excavations confirm the existence of this trade and pilgrim passage around the southern Mustang-Kali Gandaki area from the pre-Christian period till the end of the sixteenth century and even later.

As regards the Northeast India-China Route through northern Burma (Myanmar), we have enough proof of its existence and frequent use till the seventh century by Chinese pilgrims and traders. Apart from the Chinese sources we have Burmese and Ahom Buranji (history) sources which inform us that since as early as the seventh century there was a steady flow of the Mao-Shan tribes followed by the Tai-Ahoms. One of the Tai-Ahom tribes led by Sukapha carved out a powerful kingdom in Upper Assam up to Guwahati and further west after 1252 AD or so, where the Ahoms continued ruling till the British intervention in 1824 against the Burmese invasion of Assam.

### **The Stilwell Highway and the Future:**

The ancient route through northern Myanmar was revived when World War II entered into a crucial stage in the early 1940s. Japan had cut China off from all maritime contacts. At that juncture the Indo-Chinese (or Sino-Indian) Highway (renamed Stilwell Highway after the American General) carved out the lifeline for China to receive arms, food and other supplies routed from India. It was this vital link between India and China which won the anti-Japanese war. It may soon become the next national highway linking the region with Southeast Asia through a motorable road from Guwahati stretching from Mergherita, Ledo to Bhamo in Myanmar across the Patkai range. From Bhamo it passes through Myitkyina on the Yunnan-Myanmar border and crosses over to the other side to reach Dali in Yunnan. The railroad between Kunming (capital of Yunnan in south China) and Dali on the border of the same province is already completed. The Myanmar government with a loan from the Asian Development Bank is constructing a railway line through northern Myanmar linking India with Yunnan simultaneously with the revival of

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the Stilwell Highway. The section between Ledo and China-Myanmar border covers about 1720 kilometres. The railway reaches the Myanmar coast on the Bay of Bengal from where the Coco Island of Myanmar with Chinese military installation is within easy reach.<sup>19</sup>

Men with breadth of vision at home and abroad have been advocating the building up of an Asian-European highway or rail-cum-roadways, starting from Shanghai city and passing through Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Guizhou and Yunnan, all provinces in China, then entering northern Myanmar, and farther, reaching the north-eastern part of India to join the Indian railway network. Then, one can go south-westward to the Bay of Bengal at Chittagong port as well as the Kolkata and Haldia ports of West Bengal. Further west it will touch the Indian Ocean coast. Proceeding westward one can go to Brest, in France, through Pakistan and Central Asia. This magnificent plan will come true only after the efforts of all concerned countries are pulled up together. The Myanmar-Northeast India link is a big gap in this enterprise. When this international project is completed it will play a very significant role in the economic and social life of Northeast India, Myanmar and southwest China. It will then be very advantageous for us to develop economic and cultural contact with our neighbours, and reduce transportation expenditure and improve the competitive capability of our products in the international market.<sup>20</sup>

For example, let us take the distance from Kunming, capital of Yunnan in south China to Kolkata. The present railway from Kunming to Guangzhou, i.e. Canton, is more than 2000 kilometres, and it is approximately 3200 nautical miles, i.e. 5926.4 kilometres, from Guangzhou to Kolkata by sea. If we travel by land, it is less than 2200 kilometres from Kunming to the frontier Indian town Ledo in north-eastern India via northern Myanmar. From Ledo to Kolkata it is more than 1600 kilometres which comes to a little more than 3800 kilometres as against the more than 5926 kilometres by sea route.<sup>21</sup>

The rail-cum-road land route from Guangzhou (Canton) to Kolkata covers a distance of more than 5926 kilometres by sea route and from the same place, i.e. Canton to Kolkata through Myanmar comes to a little more than 3800 kilometres by land route, an advantage of more than 2100 kilometres over the maritime route.

If the road link with southwest and south China including Tibet and Myanmar, Malaysia, Thailand and Cambodia (Kampuchea) is developed and local trade encouraged, the decrease in cost of transportation will help offset the pressure of neighbouring countries dumping small scale industrial products through overt and covert means.

### Notes and References

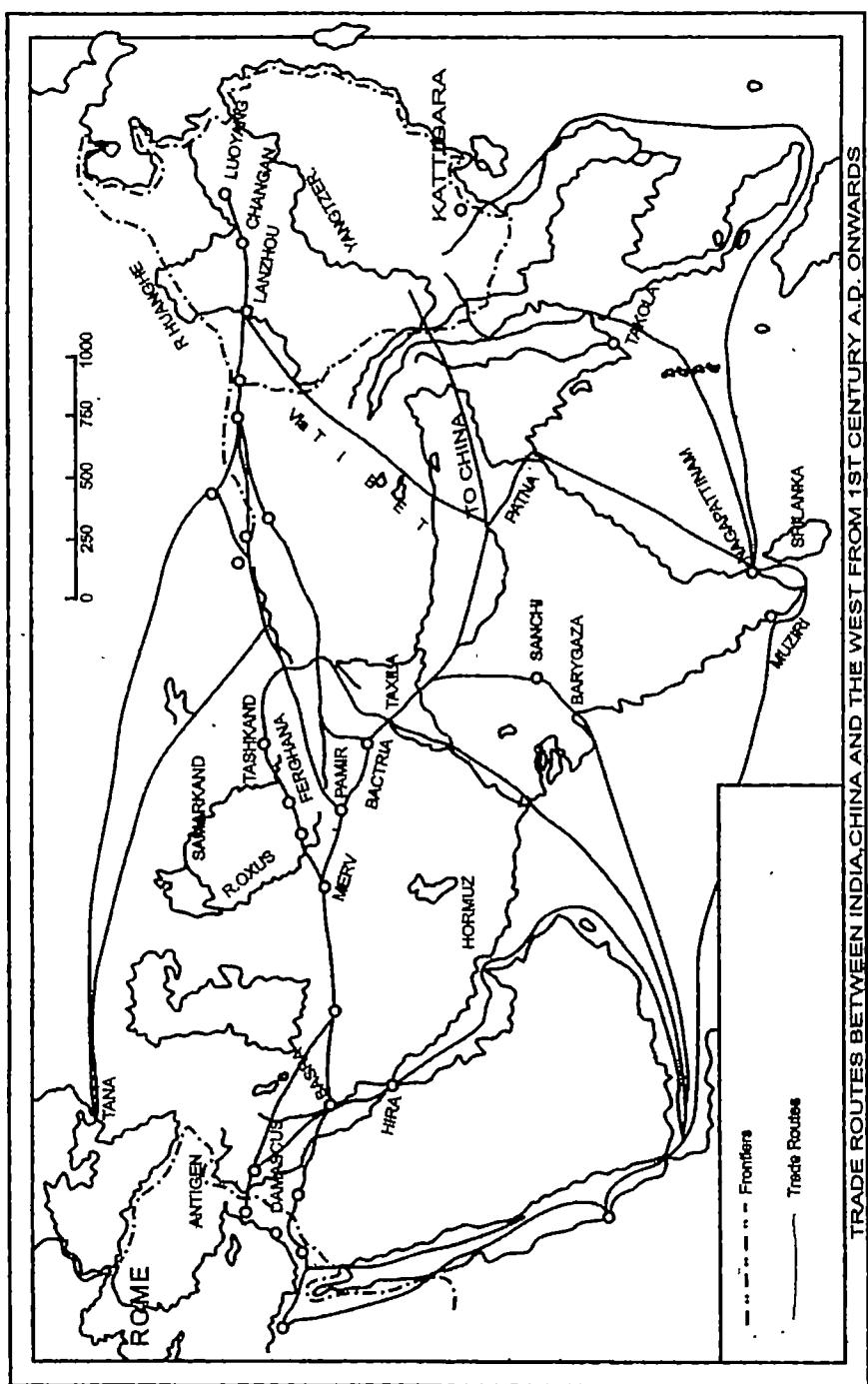
1. See Weilue (compiled from AD 239 to 265) by Yu Huan, p. 859 (*Sanguozhi, History of the Three Kingdoms*, Zhonghua Shiyu edition); for translation see Haraprasad Ray, *Chinese Sources of South Asian History in Translation: Data for Study of India-China Relations through History* (hereafter *Chinese Sources*), Vol. 1, Kolkata: The Asiatic Society, 2004, pp. 133-4.

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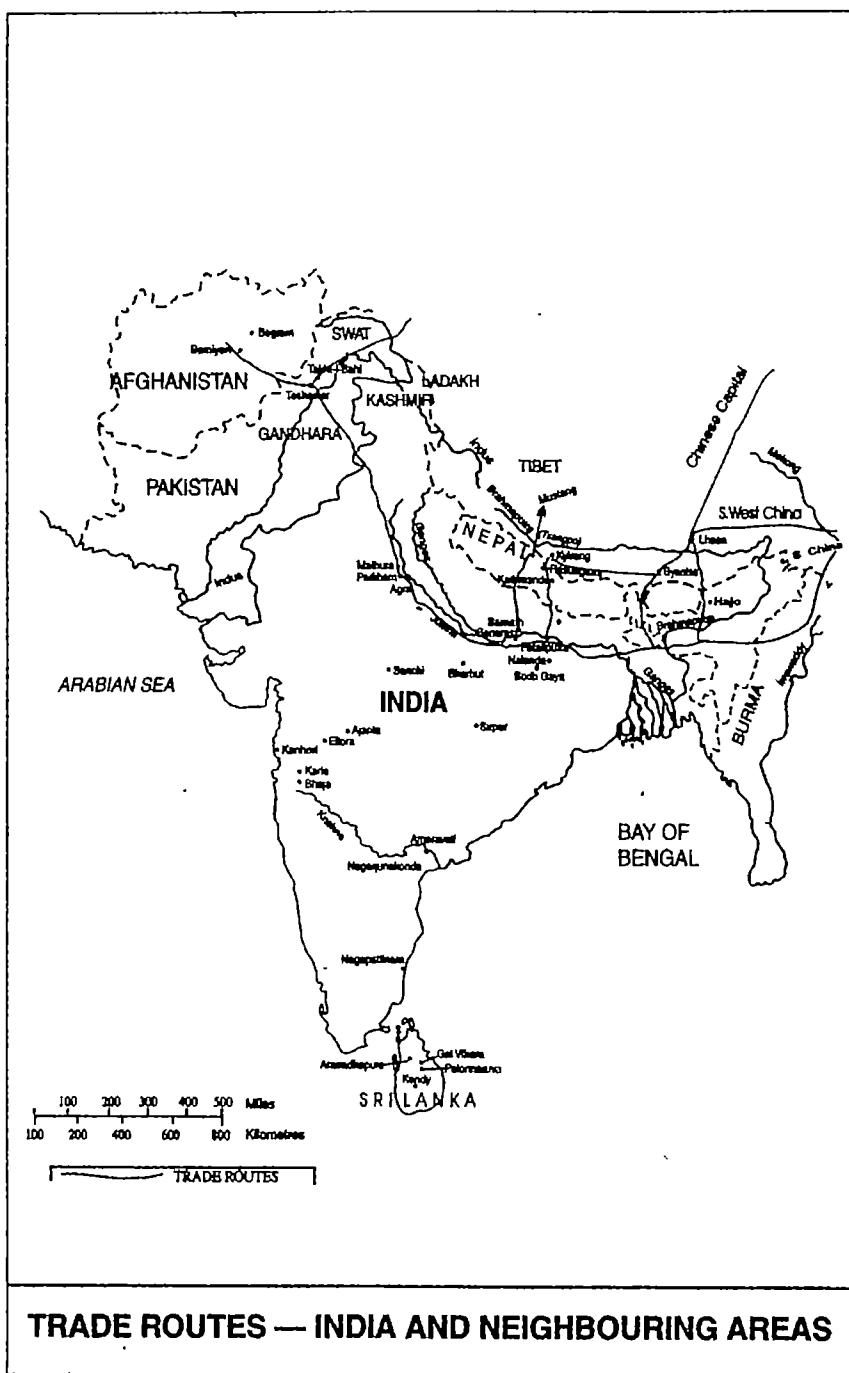
Pan-Asian Trade and Trade Routes Connecting India with China

MAP - I



From the author's, *Northeast India's Place in India China Relations and Its Future Role in India's Economy*

MAP - II



From the author's, *Northeast India's Place in India China Relations and Its Future Role in India's Economy*

## Buddhism and Buddhist Art in the Swat Valley, Pakistan

DURGA BASU

In the world context, Buddhism, which spread far beyond the geographical limit of its origin, has always acted as the messenger of world peace and humanity. *Bahujana hitāya bahujana sukhāya* was the message of the great master immediately after his enlightenment given to the first batch of his disciples. This was the beginning of a great religious movement which influenced contemporary society greatly. The followers of Buddha with a new spirit of transmitting the great message of peace and compassion had travelled to various parts of the world at different phases of time.

Mahāyāna Buddhism made a rapid diffusion to the outside world with its message of humanity, morality and loving kindness which formed the basis of its philosophy.

We know that Buddha's greatest contribution to society was the moral and spiritual awakening of man. He had shown some ethical paths for the realization of the ultimate truth. Buddha advocated a golden path through pure living and pure thinking to gain the supreme wisdom. Thus in the early days of Buddhism the primary mission of the Buddhist monks was to spread the master's teaching as far as possible for the benefit of mankind. Archaeological records prove that during the first century AD Buddhism flourished in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia.<sup>1</sup> There is reason to believe that at this point of time there were certain core areas from where Buddhism spread out to various far away regions. One such core area was the Swat river valley (**Plate-II, Fig. 1**) where Mahayana Buddhism flourished and developed a Buddhist cultural environment during the first century AD. The Swat Valley was then regularly traversed by Buddhist monks for disseminating the teachings of Buddha and his message of peace, and they established Buddhism firmly in the region. As a matter of fact, the Swat river valley was used as a link road by the traders and Buddhist monks who wanted to travel to countries like Afghanistan and through Central Asia to China in the early centuries. According to Prof. Dani, a major influx of the Buddhist missionaries into these regions occurred during the Kushana period.<sup>2</sup> This is also evident from a number of rock inscriptions left by Buddhist pilgrims and by reliquary inscriptions from Bajaur, Tirah Swat, and Gilgit, written in *kharoshṭī* and *brāhmī* scripts.<sup>3</sup> The archaeological records of the existence of Buddhism in the Swat Valley might be dated from the time of the Kushanas although the teachings of Buddha might have reached much earlier.

Admittedly, from very early times the Swat region was recognized as an important pilgrimage route for Buddhists travelling between Central Asia and the North-Western part of the Indian subcontinent. In this context, we may refer to the short route that passed through modern Gilgit, located on the northern side of the Swat region, and Yasin valleys

up to Tashkurgan in Central Asia.<sup>4</sup> The pilgrims and the Buddhist monks passing through the valley were equally instrumental in carrying cultural traits from one part to the other. When Hiuen Tsang visited this region in the seventh century the Swat Valley had already assumed a great fame for its Buddhist centres and Buddhist *saṅghas*. He visited several sacred places in Swat and Buner and mentioned five important cities in Wu-Chang-Na or the Swat region.<sup>5</sup> During seventh century AD, the great Buddhist establishment of Balkh, known as the *Nava-Saṅghārāma* had already become a great centre of Buddhist learning.<sup>6</sup> Thus it could be assumed that the Swat region gradually emerged as a significant Buddhist centre in the midst of a Buddhist culture zone. Once it became a great centre of Mahayana Buddhism and an important pilgrimage route, the Swat Valley witnessed the development of artistic activities in and around the rocky areas of the region. When Aurel Stein travelled the hilly regions of Swat he noticed several relieveo carvings on the hill side rising above the bed of the Swat river.<sup>7</sup> Some of these rock carvings bear strong Hellenistic influences. In this context, we may refer to a colossal Buddha image noticed by Stein. According to him, the date of this image is the early Kushana period.<sup>8</sup> The large smiling round face and heavy folded drapery clinging to the body remind us of its Gandhāra counterpart. Thus the development of rock-cut sculptures in the 7th-8th centuries was not an isolated phenomenon. The region already had a Buddhist art tradition comparable to that of the Gandhara style. The rock art of the Swat region has revealed a unique stylistic character which is perhaps a blend of different stylistic traditions which had developed under major schools of art in the Indian subcontinent. Thus for a proper understanding of the rock-cut Buddhist art of the Swat river valley region, it is necessary to analyze the entire matter in the context of geographical aspects, contacts, and cultural links. This will give us a clear perception of the growth and establishment of Buddhism in the region and the emergence of a localized Buddhist art tradition.

## II

Geographically, the Swat river valley lies in the north western frontier region of present day Pakistan. Spreading over some 5000 square miles in the foothills of the Himalayas, the region is bounded by the upper Indus course in the east and in the west by the Kunar river which joins the river Kabul in the southern direction. The Swat Valley forming a part of modern Malakand division has two distinct geographical units. One is Swat-Kohistan, i.e. mountainous region, and another is the alluvial tract of Bar-Swat and Kur-Swat. The lower Swat Valley is much wider than the upper Swat and has a rich alluvial cover. The valley is bounded by the districts of Ghizer and Chitral in the north, Buner in the south, Dir in the west and Kohistan in the east. In ancient times, the upper Indus Valley witnessed the growth of two great kingdoms—Gāndhāra and Uddiyāna.

Buddhist tradition mentions the greatness of these ancient kingdoms. The literary and

### Buddhism and Buddhist Art in the Swat Valley, Pakistan

archaeological sources help us to know that both these ancient kingdoms were under the strong hold of Buddhism. It is believed that the first Buddhist mission to Central Asia must have begun from this area. Legends say that a pupil of Ananda spread Buddha's teaching in the ancient kingdom of Gāndhāra, only fifty years after Buddha's *mahāparinirbāna*. But we do not have any historical proof of this. However, in the ancient Gāndhāra region Emperor Asoka sent his missionaries for the propagation of Buddha's teachings. This is evident from the discovery of Asoka's inscriptions in *kharoshṭī* at Shāhbāzgorhi and Mānsehrā.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that some Sanskrit Buddhist texts have been discovered from northern Central Asia, and the most spectacular findings have come from the Gilgit region. Gilgit is located in the northern side of the Swat region. Sixty manuscripts have been found from a mound. Among these manuscripts one complete copy of *Mūlasarvastivāda Vinaya* text in Sanskrit and other Mahāyāna Buddhist texts deserve special mention.<sup>10</sup> According to O.V. Hinober these texts can be dated to 6th-7th century AD. From available archaeological evidence it is now clear that from the third century BC onwards the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent witnessed the continuous flow of Buddhist missionaries, and in due course these two kingdoms became prosperous and developed as two great centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Buddhist art at different times. It is now an established fact that modern Charsada lying on the east bank of the river Swat corresponds to the ancient Puskaravati, the capital of the Gandhara kingdom. The fertile valleys drained by the Swat river together with the adjacent district of Buner have been identified as ancient Uddiyāna. The territory of Swat was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. From Udagakhanda city he travelled to the Wu-Chang-Na country corresponding to Udayana or Uddiyāna.<sup>11</sup> From the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang we come to know that the people of Uddiyāna held Buddhism in high esteem and were believers of the Mahāyāna faith and were expert in magical exorcisms.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the land has been surveyed by a number of archaeologists and historians. Among these scholars Aurel Stein, E. Barger<sup>12</sup>, P. Wright<sup>13</sup> and Giuseppe Tucci<sup>14</sup> were pioneers. Aurel Stein, during 1896-97, explored a small portion of the lower Swat Valley for searching extant Buddhist edifices. Between March and May 1926, he carried out a systematic exploration in the Swat Valley and brought to notice a number of ruined *stūpas* and rock carvings at Top-Darn, Bir-Kot, Gumbat, Amluk dara and Mingora in the upper Swat region<sup>15</sup>. Stein reported the existence of a *stūpa* built by Uttarasesha, an ancient King of Wu-Chang-Na, i.e. Swat<sup>16</sup>, which was also mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. Both the upper and lower Swat valleys have revealed Buddhist stupas and rock-cut carvings that show the artistic tastes of the Buddhist people living in the region. That the region during this time was under the spell of Mahāyāna Buddhism is borne out by the rock-cut images. In historical terms, these rock-cut carvings bear testimony to the presence of a Buddhist culture that fostered the growth of an indigenous

form of art. The worship and culture that flourished here for centuries left behind their traces in various artistic forms of Buddha and Bodhisattva (**Plate-II, Fig. 3**).

Very recently, the tract was thoroughly surveyed and the rock-cut carvings in Swat Valley were documented by the Italian Archaeological Mission. Buddhist rock-cut sculptures were fully studied and documented by A. Filigenzi in 1995<sup>17</sup> and by B. Sardar in 2002<sup>18</sup>. Frankly inspired by these works, the present author intends to study the stylistic nature of rock carvings in the perspective of the other Buddhist arts of India.

### **III**

The Buddhist art that developed in the Swat Valley during the 7th-8th century AD is mainly the relief works carved on rocks, either granite gneiss or schist stone. Among the sculptural assemblages several stele have also been recovered. Generally these carvings display the images of Padmapāni Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Vajrapāni and Mañjuśrī, indicating the region's deeper affiliation with Mahāyāna doctrines. In these rock carvings, emphasis has been given to the cult figures only. In most cases Buddha is represented with two other Bodhisattva figures (**Plate-II, Fig. 2**). Buddha or Bodhisattva images are often found seated on a high lotus pedestal, in either *lalitāsana* or *baddhapadmāsana*. In rock-cut art narration of the Jātaka stories or life stories of Buddha are almost absent.

In the rock-cut sculptures of Swat a great deal of importance has been given to the image of Avalokiteśvara. We know that he is the most popular Bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna pantheon. The Buddhist followers believe that his main function is to look around in all directions for the welfare of all beings. The images of the Bodhisattva show a beautiful smiling face with sublime spiritual grace. In most cases he is shown seated in *ardhaparyanka* pose and on a high pedestal. The seat is flanked by two lions. Like the Sarnath idiom, the images of the Bodhisattva reveal a smooth, slender and weightless body with a supreme bliss emanating from inner serenity. It is interesting to note that the Swat artists searched suitable rocks for their artistic persuasions in the natural environment of the hill sides of the Swat. It appears that in the midst of a serene and calm ambience the images are as if transmitting the message of peace and compassion.

The Swat artists were also in favour of creating the images of Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāni and Maitreya. In the Buddhist pantheon Mañjuśrī is given the highest place. It is evident that the worship of Mañjuśrī started during the Gupta period<sup>19</sup>. His images have not been found in the Gandhāra and Mathura schools of art. But the existence of the images in the Swat region shows that during the seventh century AD the concept of Mañjuśrī was already known to the artists. Here Mañjuśrī is generally found located in the triad image of Buddha (**Plate-II, Fig. 4**). In the triad form Buddha is found seated in between the two standing Bodhisattvas. The attributes of Mañjuśrī are the sacred book and sword. But in most cases these are not clearly visible due to the heavy weathering of rocks.

### Buddhism and Buddhist Art in the Swat Valley, Pakistan

Stylistically, though this rock-cut art betrays a homogeneous aesthetic expression, it reflects different artistic idioms. At this point, it is important to recall that in the neighbouring region of Swat Valley, there developed a great centre of Buddhist art in and around the Gandhāra region. It is quite obvious that Swat Valley had a direct link with the Gandhāra region in the early centuries of the Christian era, and thereby received cultural and aesthetic elements from the Gandhāra region. The valley was under the spell of Śaka-Parthian and Kushāna culture from first century BC onwards. The site of Butkara-I in Swat region has revealed a beautiful Buddha image, having distinctive Parthian characteristics<sup>20</sup>. Thus the region had already received artistic elements from different art idioms. But the rock-cut carvings of Swat Valley during 7th-8th century AD lack these elements in majority. On the contrary, the images of the rock carvings show a close affinity with classical Gupta idiom in terms of line, smooth gliding linearism, slenderness of body and serenity. The artists adopted the classical Indian tradition that evolved from Sarnath. By this time, it became a common denominator which was adopted by various countries in the post-Gupta period. But in spite of having such a close affiliation with Indian classical norm some images reflect an ethnic tradition with a tinge of Gandharan style. Thus the rock-cut carvings of Swat Valley are characterized by the intricate amalgamation and synthesis of Indian classical norms, indigenous local norms, and to some extent the Gandharan style.

The rock-cut images of Buddha and Bodhisattva appear to have played a significant role not only in disseminating Buddha's teaching to the neighbouring countries but also in spreading the great message of peace and humanity through these sculptural representations.

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## Vaishnavism in South India as known from Coins

JUTHIKA MAITRA

Numismatic issues constitute an important source of the religious history and as elsewhere in South India they have proved to be of substantial help in obtaining a glimpse into the religious affiliations of the royal dynasties which flourished in the post Satavahana period (225-1300 A.D.). Not unexpectedly the major religious faith professed by the members of these dynasties were Vaishnavism and Saivism. The relevant numismatic materials studied along with the data collected from other sources notably epigraphical and monumental, will bring the religious affiliation of the dynasties in question in a clear relief. The present paper is restricted to Vaishnavism only.

One of the major cult dynasties of the South, the Chalukyas of Vatapi (Badami) issued coins which carry on them the figure of a 'boar' on their obverse. Some of them are inscribed, struck in gold and small in size. These coins have been ascribed by some to Pulakesin I. Of late a gold and three electrum coins bearing the figure of a fairly protuberant 'boar' on the obverse and a male figure on the reverse have come to light. The gold coin bears further the legend 'Sri Vikrama' on both sides, while the electrum pieces 'Sri Vikramaraja' on the obverse and 'Sri Vikramamaharaja' on the reverse. They have been rightly attributed to Vikramaditya I (654-681 A.D.), an eminent member of the dynasty. Like the Western Chalukyas of Vengi the Eastern Chalukyas also used the device of a 'boar' on some of their monetory issues. Kings of this lineage such as Saktivarman Chalukyachandra (1000-11 A.D.), Rajaraja (1018-1060 A.D.) and Rajendra Kulottunga (1070-1120), issued gold coins with a 'boar' in the centre with a parasol (chatra) above. The later Chalukyas of Kalyana continued to use the figure of this animal as one of their coin devices. This is exemplified by the issues of Jayasimha II alias Jagadekamaka (1015-1043). The same ruler issued another series having the device of an impressive temple with a domed tower surmounted by a discus (chakra). While the 'boar' on this coin stands for Vishnu in his Varahavatara form, the chakra on this specie of Jayasimha II is the well known symbol of the god. Collectively all these monetory issues provide an eloquent testimony to the Chalukya kings in question to the god Vishnu.

Another ruling house, the Vishnukundins, who flourished in the middle of the 5th century to the beginning of the 7th century, as their name indicate were the devotees of Vishnu and this is further corroborated by their coins which carry on them the Vaishnavite symbols like a 'conch' and a 'wheel'.

Among other dynasties who are known to have been followers of Vaishnavism are the Silaharas of the Kolhapur region, the Kadambas of Hangal and the Yadavas of Devagiri. A number of small gold coins of the Silahara king Chittaraja (11th century A.D.) on their

obverse have the figure of Garuda either moving or in sitting position. The Kadamba branch of Hangal who emerged to power towards the close of 10th century, issued coins with the figure of Hanuman. The imperial Yadavas of Devagiri who rose to power in the 12th century also issued coins displaying their Vaishnava predilection. One of the very common symbols borne by their coins (the reverse blank) is a ‘conch’. On the monetory issues of Bhillama V (1175-1191 A.D.) and Singhana (1210-1247) can be traced a human figure, which may be conjecturally identified with the dancing Krishna, while some coins of a later ruler Ramachandra (1271-1309) the figure of Garuda can be recognized.

The imperial Cholas are well known for their devotion to Siva which is manifested among others by the two celebrated shrines at Tanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram, dedicated to Brihadishvara or the great lord Siva. But interestingly enough a type of coins issued by Rajaraja (985-1016 A.D.) carry on their obverse the standing figure of Krishna as the flute player. The same motif of Krishna playing the flute (Venugopala) is depicted on some coins on the obverse, the reverse bears the legend which have been doubtfully read as ‘Virapundya’. It is not unlikely that these coins were struck by the Pandyas or some feudatories of the Cholas, who continued the device employed by their overlords.

Towards the end of the period of our study belong a few gold coins which generally attributed to the rulers of the Pandya dynasty, though this attribution is not certain. On these specimens appear Vaishnavite symbols like ‘conch’ and ‘discus’ along with the conventional device of ‘fish’ (it sometimes appears in pair). Their coins include the issues of Sundara Pandya I (1216-1235 A.D.), Jatavarman Sundara (1254-1270 A.D.) and the Mahavarman Sundara Pandya II (1238-1253 A.D.).

The evidence of the coins discussed above in the context of Vaishnavism is amply corroborated by the data gleaned from the epigraphical records of the relevant dynasties. The Chalukyas of Badami, for example, accepted ‘Varaha’ or boar as their insignia on their copper plates, and their coins having this animal on the obverse of the coins of Vikramaditya I as well as on the uninscribed coins attributed to them, collectively attest their devotion to the God Vishnu. Indeed in some of their records, the Chalukyas have seated that they had aquired their ‘boar’ insignia through the flavour of the holy Narayana.

Many of the Chalukya kings, like the Kadambas, had Vaishnava inclination which is proved by the Badami cave shrine inscription of the time of Kirtivarman I (c.566-567) Mangalesha undoubtedly professed the Vaishnava faith, for he is described as a ‘Paramabhagavat’, it is also recorded in the inscription that he built a Maha-Vishnugriha. The Badami cave shrine contains interesting varieties of Vaishnava images and series of reliefs carved on its walls which elaborately illustrate the Krishnayana scenes. The Durga temple at Aihole of a somewhat later date, having in the subsidiary niche image groups showing an admixture of Vaishnava, Saiva and Sakta subjects, was probably originally associated with Vaishnava worship. The mixing up of different sectarian elements in the

### **Vaishnavism in South India as known from Coins**

Chalukyan shrines has been explained by some scholars as due to the liberal religious outlook of the early kings.

The Vaishnava affiliation of the Silaharas as demonstrated by their coins with the Garuda device, is corroborated by their epigraphical records, which speak of the Suvarna-Garuda-dhvaja (banner of the golden Garuda) as their family crest, though their tutelary deity was Mahalakshmi. Similarly the devotion of the Yadavas to Vishnu, as known from their above noted coins, seem to receive support from a set of copper plates with a seal depicting Garuda with conch shell on either side of it.

The spirit of toleration, a characteristic feature of the Indian religious life, is amply borne out by the Vishnukundins, apparently and originally Vaishnavas, were also devotees of Siva. This is borne out by the 'bull' and 'double trident' devices of their coins. Likewise the Cholas who had Saivism as their creed, showed their veneration to Vishnu as well by portraying Venugopala on the coins issued by Rajaraja.

# Durga Temple at Aihole

SUDIPA RAY BANDYOPADHYAY

## Introduction:

Karnataka has a rich heritage of temple architecture and sculptural art. Two important World Heritage Sites, Hampi and Pattadakal are situated in this state. In this paper I would like to focus on the temple architecture and sculptural art of the Chalukyas of Badami (c.500-757 CE) with particular reference to the Durga temple at Aihole. There are four important centres of Badami Chalukyan art in Karnataka: Aihole, Badami, Mahakuta and Pattadakal. From the architectural point of view the Badami Chalukyan temples are remarkable for their hybrid style: both *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* architectural elements are integrated into their design.

## Classification of Badami Chalukyan Temples:

Among the Chalukyan temples of Badami, the most representative ones are the Upper Sivalaya temple at **Badami**, Mallikarjuna and Chandikesvara temples at **Mahakuta**, the temples of Ladkhan, Huchchimalli, Tirappa, Huchchappayya, Durga, Mallikarjuna, Kontigudi and Meguti at **Aihole** and the temples of Virupaksha, Mallikarjuna, Samgamesvara, Galaganatha and Papanath at **Pattadakal**. The Badami Chalukyas mainly used wood, brick and stone in their constructional activities. The Ladkhan and Durga temple at Aihole in Gadag district are earliest examples of stone built temples in Karnataka.

As per plan and elevation, the Chalukyan temples of Badami may be classified into five types:

1. A temple with a *garbhagrha* (sanctum sanctorum), a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (pillared hall) and an open or half-closed *mukhamāṇḍapa* (porch) at the entrance but no *pradakṣiṇapatha* (circumambulatory path). This type of temple is called *Nirandhara*, i.e. without *pradakṣiṇapatha*.
2. A temple with a *garbhagrha*, a *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, a *mukhamāṇḍapa* and a *pradakṣiṇapatha*. This type of temple is called *Sandhara*, i.e. with *pradakṣiṇapatha*.
3. A temple with a large *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the *garbhagrha* built against the back wall of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. This type of temple may or may not possess a *mukhamāṇḍapa*.
4. A temple with an apsidal (*gajaprsthākṛiti*, literally, ‘the shape of an elephant’s back’) *garbhagrha*, an apsidal *pradakṣiṇapatha*, a *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, a *mukhamāṇḍapa* and an outer apsidal *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

## Durga Temple at Aihole

5. A temple with three *garbhagrhas*, a common *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and an open *mukhamāṇḍapa*.

The Durga temple at Aihole comes under the fourth category, i.e., *gajapṛṣṭhākṛti* temples. The Chikka Mahakuta Siva temple at Mahakuta is also a *gajapṛṣṭhākṛti* temple. During my Karnataka field-study trip in the last week of December 2008, I had occasion to study the architecture and sculptural art of the Durga temple at Aihole in some detail. I have, therefore, chosen only the Durga temple at Aihole (**Plate-III, Fig. 1**) for discussion here. It may be noted here that the temple takes its name not after goddess Durgā, but after a fort (*durga*) located nearby. The temple, in fact, is dedicated to Lord Āditya, the Sun-God<sup>1</sup>.

### Architectonic Features of the Durga Temple:

The Durga temple has six major architectural portions: an apsidal *garbhagrha*, a *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, a *mukhamāṇḍapa*, an apsidal *pradakṣiṇapatha*, an apsidal outer *pradakṣiṇapatha*, and in the southern side a *praveśadvāra* (gateway).

The apsidal *garbhagrha* is built at a level higher than the pillared hall to which it is connected by a flight of steps. The doorjambs of the *praveśadvāra* are decorated with scrolls and pilasters. Here the lintel is absent. The architrave above the doorway is completely damaged. There is a *nāgara/rekha sikhara* above the *garbhagrha*. It is broken now. An *āmalaka* of huge size can be still seen lying near the temple. The sanctum of this temple has no *antarāla* (antechamber).

The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* in front of the *garbhagrha* has eight square pillars. There are two rows of square pillars (each row containing four pillars) which divides the hall into a nave and two aisles. Most of the tall and square pillars are damaged. The existing pillars have *pattas* (bands) and half medallions at their bases. The medallions are carved with floral designs relieved with *yakshas*, *mithuna* figures, peacocks, elephants, *makaras*, *simhamukhas*, rosettes, and various gods and goddesses. The beams are badly damaged but it is clear that it was once decorated with scrolls, pavilions, bead chains, etc. A few *caukis* (compartments) just below the flat ceiling have been converted into ventilators. The doorway of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* has a *lalātabimba* (god or goddess depicted at the central portion of the door lintel) on it. The figure of *garuḍa* holding the tail of the *nāgas* is depicted on the *lalātabimba*. The *kudus* (arch motifs) carved on the architrave contain some indistinct relief.

Adjacent to the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is the *mukhamāṇḍapa* with four pillars placed on a *kakshāsana* (stone bench). All these pillars are short, square and decorated with relief works. The *adhishṭhāna* (moulded base) of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* is carved with Ramayana scenes. The *kapota* (topmost moulding) of the *adhishṭhāna* is decorated with *kudus*. The outside face of the walls of the *mukhamāṇḍapa* has a number of large *koshthas* (niches)

containing sculptures of Brahmanical pantheon as well as sculptures of a non-religious nature.

The outer *pradakṣināpatha* is wider than the inner *pradakṣināpatha*. At the extreme end of the outer *pradakṣināpatha* is a stone bench and a number of pillars are located on this bench. All the pillars are square and plain. The total number of pillars around the passage is twenty-six. The outer row bears large relief work, mostly of *mithuna* figures (**Plate-III, Fig. 2**). The ceiling of the external *pradakṣināpatha* is sloping.

One of the most interesting but not widely-noticed features is the *epraveśadvāra*. On the top of the gateway is placed a huge *kuḍu* which bears the relief of Sūrya.

The whole temple stands on a very high *adhisṭhāna*. The front railing is decorated with *yakshas*, rampart lions, false windows etc. The *kapota* has *kuḍus* on the surface but its wall is plain. The temple is accessible by two flights of *sopānas* (steps) built on either side of the entrance.

#### Sculptural Art in the Durga Temple:

The Durga temple at Aihole is famous for its sculptural art. The *koshṭha* sculptures are the best specimens of sculptural art of the early Chalukyan period. These sculptures are carved on thick stone slabs, which do not form an integral part of the architectural form. They are fitted into the *koshṭha*, built specially for the purpose. Whether they were first carved and then fitted into the *koshṭha* or *vice versa* is still a matter of debate. However, it seems more likely that they were first carved and then fitted into the *koshṭha*. Out of the eleven *koshṭhas* in the Durga temple only six bear sculptures at present. Facing the *garbhagrha*, the images of Vṛishavāhana Śiva, Narasiṁha avatāra of Vishṇu and Garudavāhana Vishṇu are situated in the south, and the images of Varāha avatāra of Vishṇu, Mahiṣasuramardini and Harihara in the north. These sculptures are remarkable for their depth of carving, quality of relief, variety of poses, intricacy and delicacy of the decoration, suppleness of the body, and strong contours. Unfortunately, most of them are mutilated.

The first two *koshṭhas* are empty. The third *koshṭha* is adorned with an eight-armed Vṛishavāhana Śiva leaning in *tribhanga* posture on his mount Nandi. The most remarkable ornament worn by Śiva is a jewelled tiara, which is very unusual. The next *koshṭha* is decorated with a four-armed standing Narasiṁha avatāra in *kañihasta* (akimbo) posture. His eyes are round and the long locks of hair fall on his shoulders. In the fifth *koshṭha* there is an image of Garudavāhana Vishṇu. His upper right hand holds a *chakra*, the upper left a *śarṅka*, the lower left hand is placed on his left thigh, and the lower right hand is in *varada mudrā*. The crown of the deity is highly ornamented and his downward look is quite unusual. He is attended by a female figure. He wears a *vanamālā* but it does not go beyond his knees. The sixth and seventh *koshṭhas* are also empty. In the eighth

## Durga Temple at Aihole

*koshṭha* there is an image of Varāha avatāra. The god is standing in *pratyālīdha* posture. His lower right hand is in *kaṭihasta mudrā*, the upper right hand holds a *chakra* and the upper left holds *pr̥thvīmātā* (Earth Goddess); the lower left hand is broken. The *vanamālā* here is very prominent. The ninth *koshṭha* is represented by the figure of an eight-armed Mahishāsuramardini in combating mode with *asura*. The crown of the goddess is very tall. She wears wristlets, necklace and a *chhanavīra* that falls between her two breasts. It is a marvellous specimen of Deccanese sculptural art. The tenth *koshṭha* is adorned with a figure of Harihara. All the right hands of this eight-armed figure of Harihara are broken. Only the *chakra* is prominent in one of his left hands. He is standing in *kaṭihasta* posture. The image of Harihara is flanked by two female figures at the top and one male and one female figure on either side of his legs. The last and the eleventh *koshṭha* is also empty.

Apart from the *koshṭha* sculptures there are twenty-six pillar sculptures. Out of these, three are divine figures, two are of *dvārapālas* (door-guardians), and the rest are *mithuna* sculptures (Plate-III, Fig. 3). The divine sculptures and *dvārapālas* are carved on the pillars of the inner porch, while the *mithuna* figures are carved on the pillars of the outer promenade. In the forms and contours of the body, one can see a difference between the divine sculptures and *mithuna* sculptures. The divine sculptures are heavy, hefty, and stocky in their physique, while the *mithuna* figures are slim, slender, and more elegant in form.

Among the divine figures one is that of Śiva Bhikshātana, one of Narasimha slaying Hiranyakāśipu and one of Ardhanārī Śiva. The image of Śiva Bhikshātana represents here the south Indian version of the story of Śiva Bhikshātana. Here Śiva Bhikshātana is recognizable not only by the usual exposed genitals but also by other attributes not seen in the north. These include the lion skin the head of which appears on his right thigh, the prostrate figure he stands on, and others on either side. The *jaṭāmukuta* of Śiva is so highly ornamented that it appears more like a crown than the ascetic Śiva's usual pile of matted locks. This is quite an unusual Bhikshātana from the north Indian point of view.

The image of Narasimha *avatāra* is four-armed with two arms holding *chakra* and *saṅkha* (?) and the other two engaged in ripping open the stomach of Hiranyakāśipu. The *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread) along with other ornaments like *antaravalayas* (armlets), *kankanas* (bangles) of Narasimha are noteworthy.

The pillar at the entrance to the porch bears the figure of Ardhanārī Śiva. The figure is quite elegant in its physiognomy and beauty. The most notable feature in this sculpture is that Parvati here touches her left earlobe with her left hand.

The Durga temple is also notable for its ceiling sculptures. The ceiling sculptures are an integral part of the temple and are well preserved. As they appear in the most inaccessible interiors of the temple they have remained free from human vandalism and

the ravages of weather and time. Interestingly, the ceiling slabs are not very thick in volume. They measure an average of 1 foot in thickness. Though the sculptures are quite well relieved from the background, they are not carved as deep as the sculptures on the pillars and *koshthas*. The reason being, the deeper the carving of the relief, the weaker will be the ceiling slab. Hence, an optimum depth is maintained in the carving of the sculptures. The ceiling is embellished with the relief of *Nāgarāja*, *Matsyachakra*, *Gandharvas* and *Apsarās*. The *Nāgarāja* relief is particularly noteworthy. *Nāgarāja* is seen emerging from the centre of the coils of his body in human form. He is two-handed, holding a garland in one hand and a basketful of flowers and fruits in the other. There is a definite grace and movement in the composition. The twist of the body and the bends of the necks of *Nāgarāja* and the *Nāginis* lend a sense of movement to the entire panel. The female figure on the left side of the panel whose torso is very attractively carved reminds us of a similar female torso depicted in one of the Ajanta paintings.

### **Conclusion:**

The Durga temple at Aihole may be considered as the best example of early Chalukyan art in every respect: in the plan, in the elevation, and in the decoration of the different parts of the temple. There is a touch of class in every aspect of the edifice. The superior workmanship exhibited in the disposition, delineation and decoration of the sculptures is clearly discernible to anyone who visits the temple.

### **Notes and References**

1. An inscription on the gateway of the temple mentions that Vikramāditya II (733-744 CE) was the ruling monarch during the construction of the temple. The inscription also mentions that the temple was built out of a grant given by one Ālekomara-siṅga to expiate his own sins and the sins of his forebears (J. F. Fleet, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, Bombay: Education Society Press, 1879, pp. 285ff). Though much is not known about Ālekomara-siṅga, one thing can be said with certainty that the temple was visited by great men of the Chalukyan period and their families to worship Ālekomara-siṅga's image of Lord Āditya, and that in the time of Vikramāditya II the Chalukyan ruling family sanctioned this worship with the contribution of funds from their share of local customs revenue.

## **Varāhī as Presiding Deity in Orissan Temple Art**

**JAYANTI DORA**

### **Introduction:**

Celebration of motherhood is a universal phenomenon and is as old as the history of mankind. The production-ability of women might have been the cause of the origin and growth of a feeling of admiration and reverence for the mother goddess. The worship of the mother goddess, in some form or the other, is present in almost all cultures. Śaktism or the worship of the female principle occupies a unique place in Indian religious traditions. The origin of the *Sakti* cult is virtually a conglomeration of various cross-cultural trends, non-Aryan and Aryan, and can historically be traced back to the Harappan civilization. Discovery of a large number of terracotta female figurines, ring-stones, circular discs, terracotta seals, bronzes and painted potteries amply speak of the prevalence of the worship of the female principle in the pre-Vedic age. Sir J. Marshall, on the basis of these archaeological remains, as well as the forms depicting the yogic god identified as the so-called proto-Śiva, states that Śaivism and Śaktism were the main forms of religion prevalent in the Harappan civilization.<sup>1</sup>

*Sakti* worship in Orissa is an age-old phenomenon, particularly among the tribes, where non-Aryan elements predominated. Most probably, from the Stone Age this idea penetrated into the domain of human thought. The pre-historic rock art of Orissa bear this out. Both in paintings and engravings of Orissan rock-art several instances of bisected triangles resembling the female genital have been encountered.<sup>2</sup> Repeated occurrence of the symbol in the same rock shelter or different rock shelters amply suggest the popularity of the primordial mother-cult or the cult of fecundity in pre-historic times. The discovery of perforated stones in rock shelters and Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites, and the *yoni stone* found from Kalahandi district has been held by many as relics of mother worship.<sup>3</sup>

Mother goddess was worshipped with great veneration by the non-Aryan tribes like the Śavaras and the Pulindas who were the original inhabitants of the land, living in the Vindhya and the Mahendragiri in the south eastern part of Orissa.<sup>4</sup> The *Kathasaritasāgara*<sup>5</sup> also informs us that the Pulindas and the Śavaras are associated with the Vindhya and the eastern mountain, Mahendragiri.

Ethnographic records reveal that tribals worshiped *Sakti* in the form of a post or a pillar, which appears to have emanated from primitive tree worship. In a later literary source, the *Mukhalīngam Kṣetra Māhātmya*, which is a part of *Skanda Purāṇa*, we notice an anecdote which supports the hypothesis that some of the ancient religious cults were associated with tree-worship. In fact, the tradition of the worship of the mother goddess

in the form of a *stambha* or *khamba* (post or pillar) has come down through the ages to the present time. In different parts of Orissa, particularly in the tribal areas, the mother goddess is still worshipped in the form of a log or wood or a pillar made of stone and is popularly known as *Khambeśvarī* (the pillar goddess) or *Kandhunidevi*,<sup>6</sup> the deity of the Khonds, a widely distributed tribe in the state.

The earliest epigraphic reference to tribal goddesses in Orissa appears in the Bhadrak inscription of Maharaja Surasarma (Gana), dated on palaeological ground to the third century AD, where the goddess Pannadevati (goddess of leaves or forest) received donations of garments, gold and a pedestal from a lady named Ranghali.<sup>7</sup> The tradition of worshipping the goddess of leaves under the name Patara is still prevalent in rural Orissa.<sup>8</sup>

Notwithstanding the above information it is difficult to ascertain accurately when this cult first appeared in ancient Orissa. Serpent figures probably known as *yakṣinīs* and *nāginīs* (female serpents) sculpted in stone made their appearance in 2nd century BC as reported from the village Kapilaprasad near Bhubaneswar.<sup>9</sup> The images are very crudely carved with pot belly and bulging hips and are canopied by snake hood.

With the South Indian campaign of Samudragupta in the 4th century AD, Brahmanical form of Hinduism percolated into the tribal hinterlands of ancient Kośala and Kalinga, leading to the transformation of the tribal *stambha/khamba* (post or pillar) to *Stambheśvarī* or *Khambeśvarī*, the most popular cult of the 4th-5th centuries AD.<sup>10</sup> The Terasinga<sup>11</sup> copper plate tells us that in the 4th-5th centuries AD, a local king named Tuṣṭikara worshipped *Stambheśvarī*, who is also known as *Bhagavatī*. This is the earliest record in Orissa where we find the mention of the goddess *Stambheśvarī*.

The worship of *Śakti* or the female principle, the primary factor in the creation and reproduction of the universe, occupies a unique position in the religious traditions of Orissa. Its origin is directly connected with primitive culture. The mother goddess cult which was a prominent feature in primitive religion gradually crept into the mainstream pantheon of tribal and folk communities, incorporating local deities, customs, rites, worship patterns, and multifarious myths and legends. As H. C. Das observes, “No other living religion can claim to have an ancient, continuous and colourful history with such a rich source of mythology, theology and numerous manifestations as Śaktism”.<sup>12</sup>

### Iconography:

Goddesses in the Hindu pantheon are different from one another in nature and appearance. Some are benevolent in nature while others are completely devoid of maternal characteristics and are malevolent in nature having strong, independent natures and are warrior goddesses. But some others are domestic in nature and closely identifies with male

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deities. Again some goddesses are associated with the wild fringes of civilization; others are the very embodiment of art and culture. Here an attempt has been made to give a comprehensive iconographical description of *Vārāhī*, one of the principal Śākta deities, depicted in the temples of Orissa. For this study, both archaeological and literary source materials have been taken into consideration.

The Vedic texts, the Epics, the *Tantras*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Upa-Purāṇas*, the local myths and legends, the peculiar regional customs connected with the goddesses, the images worshipped in the temples and depicted on the walls that lie scattered in various sites and preserved in the museums are the main sources for the study of iconography of Śākta images. For a proper understanding of the images, the study of the *Purāṇas*, the *Āgamas*, the *Tantras* and the *Śilpaśāstras* is essential. Archaeological materials like coins, epigraphs and sculptures are also greatly helpful in this regard.

A large number of manifestations of Śakti are found in different parts of Orissa. Some of the important Śakti manifestations are *Stambheśvarī*, *Mahishamardini Durgā*, *Lakshmi*, *Sarasvatī*, *Pārvatī*, *Saptamātrikās* (like *Chāmuṇḍā* and *Vārāhī*) and sixty-four *Yoginīs*. They have cult status in the state.

Among the *Saptamātrikās*, *Vārāhī*, like *Chāmuṇḍā*, has been singled out for special worship, and there are numerous temples dedicated to her throughout Orissa. While other *mātrikās* generally assume the forms, cognizances, mounts and ornaments of their male counterparts, *Vārāhī* has little in common with her male counterpart other than the sow-face. In literature and sculpture, *Varāha* is represented in theriomorphic (completely in the form of a boar) or in hybrid (human body with boar head) forms, while *Vārāhī* assumes only the latter. When *Varāha* depicted in hybrid form is huge in size, indicative of his great masculine strength, and assumes the heroic *ālidha* pose as he rescues earth,<sup>13</sup> *Vārāhī* merely has a massive pot-belly and her pose, seated or dancing, duplicates the pose of the other *mātrikās* in the group. While *Varāha* is without mount, *Vārāhī* has a mount.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V.4.3.19) for example, *Varāha* as a fat-dripping animal is conceived as the cosmic father, while *Vārāhī* symbolizes the cosmic mother, the container of this fat, and is thus synonymous with *prithvī* (earth).

One of the important iconographical features of *Vārāhī* is that she holds a fish in one hand when she is depicted with two hands (as most of the sculptural representations of *Vārāhī* in Orissa are), though such descriptions are not found in the Brahmanical texts. But fish is mentioned as an attribute in the *Vārāhī Tantra*, an unedited Sanskrit text written in Oriya in the collection of Sadasiva Rath Sarma of Puri, where twenty-eight couplets describe five different forms of *Varahi*: *Swapana Vārāhī*, *Canda-Vārāhī*, *Maha-Vārāhī* (*Bhairavī*), *Kṛīcchra-Vārāhī* and *Matsya Vārāhī*. In the *Matsya-Vārāhī* form she is seated

in *sukhāsana* and holds a fish and a pot.<sup>14</sup> Also in a Buddhist text, *Vajrāvalinamandalapāyika*, *Vārāhī* is described as holding a rohu fish.<sup>15</sup>

**Images:**

In Orissan temple art *Vārāhī* appears not only as one of the seven *mātrikās* but also as a presiding deity. There are numerous temples dedicated to her throughout Orissa. The only original intact temple dedicated to *Vārāhī* (**Plate-IV, Fig. 1**) is the temple at Chaurasi (**Plate-IV, Fig. 2**) of tenth century AD. In Orissa there are many other modern temples, which enshrine the image of *Vārāhī* of an early period in their sanctum. Most of these images can be assigned to the tenth century, as this was the period of the rule of the Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis, the benign patrons of Śaktism.

It is interesting to note that a *Vārāhī* temple (**Plate-IV, Fig. 3**) inside the Lingaraj temple complex is named as Yamarāj temple and the image of *Vārāhī* is worshipped as *Yama*. Probably this mistake is made because of the buffalo mount, as iconographically both *Yama* and *Vārāhī* have buffalo mounts (**Plate-V, Fig. 1**).

A number of smaller *non-mātrikā* images of *Vārāhī* are scattered throughout the state that may have been originally housed in the *jagamohana* of *Vārāhī* temples or were inserted into niches of *devī* temples. In the temple of Gangeśvarī at Belyalishbati, an image of *Vārāhī* is placed in the *pārvatādevatā* niche (**Plate-V, Fig. 2**). Such images have also been found in the compound of the Bhīmeśvarī temple at Pedagadi, in the compound of the Svapneśvara temple, and in the *devī* temple at Narayani near Kantilo. A graceful image of *Vārāhī*, holding a child on her lap is preserved in the State Museum of Orissa (**Plate-V, Fig. 3**).

Images of *Vārāhī* also appeared in the niches of Śiva temples. One such image is found in the upper *rāhā*-niche on the north side of the Chateśvara Śiva temple at Kishnapur and another in a *muṇḍi*-niche on the east side of the Yameśvara temple at Bhubaneswar.

In fact, though *Vārāhī* has the head of a boar, in Orissan sculptural art she is conceived primarily as a terrifying Śākta divinity, whether appearing as one of the *mātrikās* or as an independent deity in the seated or standing posture. She has little in common with the concept of *Varāha* as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu because she seldom carries Vaiṣṇava āyudhas and is seated either on a *nara vāhana* or a buffalo *vāhana*. The buffalo is also the mount of *Yama*, the god of death, with whom *Vārāhī* is variously associated, as in the *Silpasāmgraḥa* where it is stated that she is born of *Yama*.<sup>16</sup>

Her great popularity in Orissa as an independent deity, no doubt, starts from the belief that she is the cause of all epidemics and to get rid of such epidemics, it was necessary to propitiate her.

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The following table gives a detailed account of the Vārāhī images found in Orissa.

Sl. No.	Place/Temple	Arms	Period	Righthands	Lefthands	Pose	Vāhana
1.	Simhanath Island	2	9th C	Fish	Pot	Ardhaparyāṅka	Nara (Human)
2.	Shergarh, Mahisamardini temple	2	9th C	Fish	Pot	Ardhaparyanka	Buffalo
3.	Satbhaya (4)	2	10th C	Fish	Pot	Bhadrāśana	Nara
4.	Narendrapur	2	10th C	Fish	Kapāla	Bhadrāśana	Nara
5.	Banchua, Vārāhī-I	2	10th C	Fish	Kapāla	Ardhaparyāṅka	Nara/Buffalo
6.	Banchua, Vārāhī-II	2	10th C	Fish	Kapāla	Lalitāśana	Nara
7.	Caurasi-I	2	10th C	Fish	Kapāla	Ardhaparyāṅka	Buffalo
8.	Beraboi, Brahmesvara	2	11th C	Abhaya	Child	Lalitāśana	
9.	Kisenpur, Catesvara	2	13th C	At mouth	Kapāla	Lalitāśana	
10.	Bhubanesvar, Yamesvara	2	13th C	-	Kapāla	Lalitāśana	
11.	Bhubanesvar, Paruramesvara	4	7th C	Fish, Lotus	Axe, Pot	Sattvaparyāṅka	Nara
12.	Bhubanesvar, Vaital Temple	4	8th C	Fish, rosary	Axe, Kapāla	Ardhaparyanka	Nara
13.	Paikpada, Patalesvara	4	9th C	Abhaya, Club	Noose, Child	Lalitāśana	Buffalo
14.	Belkhandi, Candi	4	10th C	Missing, fish	Club, Child	Lalitāśana	Buffalo
15.	Caurasi, Vārāhī 3	4	10th C	Offering, missing	Rosary, Kapāla	Ardhaparyanka	Buffalo
16.	Narayani (Kantilo)	4	10th C	-	-	Ardhaparyāṅka	Buffalo
17.	Ranipur-Sharial	4	10th C	Abhaya, Fish	Noose, Kapāla	Ardhaparyāṅka	Buffalo
18.	Ayodhya Khutia Temple	4	10th C	Fish, Club	Noose, Kapāla	Ardhaparyāṅka	Buffalo
19.	Tarapur	4	10th C	Missing, Rosary	Missing, Kapāla	Ardhaparyāṅka	Buffalo
20.	Jajpur, Dasasvamedhaghat-4	4	10th C	Abhaya, Fish	Kapāla, Child	Lalitāśana	Buffalo
21.	Jajpur (SDO, Compound)	4	10th C	Missing	Missing, Child	Lalitāśana	Buffalo

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22	Puri, Markandeya Tank	4	10th C	Abhaya, Missing	Kapāla, Child	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
23.	Damagandara-I	4	10th C	Missing, Club	Noose, Missing	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
24.	Damagandara-I	4	10th C	Missing	Noose, Kapāla	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
25.	Pedagadi, Bhimesvara	4	10th C	Fish, Club	Noose, Kapāla	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
26.	Bagalpur, Daksinesvara	4	10th-11th C	Missing, Club	Noose, Missing	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
27.	Sathalpur	4	10th-11th C	Abhaya, Fish	Club, Child	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
28.	Bhubanesvar, Lingaraja	4	11th C	Abhaya, Fish	Missing, Child	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
29.	Dharmasala (Orissa State Museum)	4	11th-12th C	Abhaya, Fish	Kapāla, Child	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
30.	Kalaranhangha, Jaleswar	4	11th-12th C	Abhaya, Fish	Missing, Child	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
31.	Garedipancana	4	11th-12th C	Abhaya, Fish	Noose, Child	Lalitāsana	Buffalo
32.	Debidol, Kuttamacandi	8	10th C	Sword, arrow, rosary, missing, Shield, bow, varada,Kapāla		-	
33.	Pedagadi, Bhimesvari	8	10th C	Sword, arrow, rosary, missing, Shield, bow, varada,Kapāla		-	
34.	Beyalibati, Gangesvari	4	13th C	Sword, Kartri, Missing, ShIELD, Kapāla		-	
35.	Garedipancana	4	13th C	Sword, Kartri, Missing, Shield, Kapāla		-	

#### **Concluding Observations:**

The above table shows that in Orissan temple art, *Vārāhī* images are represented in two, four, and eight-armed forms. The sculptural representation of the goddess can be assigned to 7th-13th century AD. She is worshipped in three different forms: as an independent deity, as one of the seven *mātrikās*, and as a *pārvatēvata*. In her independent form she is conceived as a *Śākta-Tāntric* goddess. In Orissa, even a *Vārāhī* with two hands holds a fish in one hand. We do not find mention of fish as an attribute of *Vārāhī* in any brahmanical texts. *Vārāhī* images without fish have been found in other parts of India. In Orissa there is a Sanskrit text known as *Vārāhī-tantra* (translated into Oriya by Sadasiva

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Ratha Sharma) that mentions fish as the attribute of *Vārāhī*. Everywhere *Vārāhī* is depicted as seated either on a buffalo or on a human figure. In Satbhaya five *Vārāhī* images are worshipped in a row and that too by a female priest. R. C. Agrawala has reported a rare image of *Vārāhī* from Jogeshwar, datable to 8th-9th century AD. Here we find a two-faced *Vārāhī* which is quite unusual. One of the faces is human while the other is that of a boar. No other image of this type has been noticed so far.<sup>17</sup> While other goddesses are characterized by an ideal feminine physique in keeping with Indian conventions of female beauty, *Vārāhī*, always eating, has a massive potbelly, and *Chāmundā*, forever hungry, is emaciated. This inclusion of a female with a potbelly and an emaciated female with a sunken belly in group of images of ideal female physiques is an exemplary treatment of the typically Indian love of extremes.<sup>18</sup>

*Vārāhī* as an independent presiding deity not only occupies a very important position in the religious life of Orissa but its sculptural representations have also enriched the art heritage of the state.

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## **Architectural Affinity between India and South-east Asia**

**KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA**

India sent her ideas and influences to south-east Asia in the past not through political plans or armed conquests but by peaceful means. A section of traders, navigators, fortune-seekers and adventurers who came in contact with different countries of south-east Asia eventually settled there and their life styles, religious faiths and beliefs, literary pursuits and plastic activities made a predictable impact on the local culture. The testimony of the Indian acculturation is provided by several relics like epigraphical records, and literary texts, but perhaps the most tangible evidence in this regard is supplied by the architectural and sculptural remains, though the surviving examples are unfortunately inconsiderable.

Geographically, south-east Asia to day comprises Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Burma and Vietnam. Indian influence extended to these countries in the early decades of the Christian era. In terms of architectural history Kampuchea, ancient *Kambuja*, Java, ancient *Yavadipa* in Indonesia and *Champa*, the eastern Annam sector of the present-day Vietnam, witnessed in the first four or five centuries a wooden style of architecture of which we have no evidence now, but presumably it was later translated into durable materials like brick and stone. Because of their close approximation to Indian prototypes, such edifices are generally called Indianesque and chronologically they are assignable to the 6th to the 9th century. With the passage of time Indian influence waned, giving rise to a distinctive south-east Asian architectural style born out of the fusion of the Indian and local elements. The magnificent Borobudur and Angkor Wat are the bright examples of this style. Yet Indian influences persisted in varying degrees and sometimes they admit of easy recognition in not a few *stūpas* and structural shrines.

As to the *stūpa* architecture Burma helps us most. Here exist a fair number of old *stūpas* of Indian affinities. Affiliated to Buddhism, these tumuli present themselves with all the essential components of the Indian *stūpa* architecture: base, drum, box (*harmikā*) and parasol (*chhatrāvalī*). Among the extant specimens of antiquity are Pebin Gyaung, Kaung Hmadau and Ngkaye Nadayun at Pagan, ancient Arimardanapura and Baubagyи at Prome. Architecturally, these tenth-eleventh ceutnry Pagan *stūpas*, with a hemispherical dome as a principal member in each instance, are closest to the Great *Stūpa* at Sanchi, while the one at Prome for its cylindrical dome is reminiscent of the Dhamekh *stūpa* at Sarnath. The prominent verticality of the famous Mingalazedi stupa, raised around 1274, reminds us of some older *stūpa* of the Kashmir Valley. An architectural masterpiece, Borobudur in Indonesia, was once believed to be a *stūpa*, but is now rightly regarded as a terraced pyramid like Chandi Loro Jongrang and Chandi Jago in Indonesia and Phnom Bakhen and Angkor Wat in Kampuchea. In spite of its own distinctive character, Borobudur

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seemingly bears the evidence of influence of contemporary monuments of the mainland. Here an imposing *stūpa* of the early eighth century at Parihasapura in Kashmir comes to mind. It was raised on a double platform and had stairways in the centre on each side and also probably indented corners, and in all likelihood it served as a model, at least a source of inspiration, to the builders of the Indonesian monument. Similar specimens, such as those at Bhallar near Rawalpindi, Sphola near Khyber and Mirpur in Sindh, also may be recalled in this context.

Equally famous is the early twelfth-century Angkor Wat, a Hindu monument in Kampuchea. Like Borobudur it belongs to the class of stepped pyramid and its terraced levels are unified by connecting galleries and staircases; the uppermost level supports the central shrine of soaring profile and corner towers echoing its shape. The prototype of these spires is traceable in the Indian curvilinear tower as in the Bhuvaneswar temples, although the Angkorean towers have an undeniable individuality.

Indian affinities are quite pronounced in many structural shrines and it has already been stated that because of their nearest approximation to Indian originals a set of south-east Asian temples, such as those of the pre-Angkorean phase in Kampuchea and the early temples at Mison in Vietnam are sometimes called Indianesque.

Architecturally, both the *Nāgara* and *Drāvida* idioms influenced the building activities in south-east Asia. The influence of the North Indian *Nāgara* style with its cruciform plan and curvilinear tower crowned by a lotiform *āmalaka* may be recognised in Chandi Bima—a temple named after Bhima in the Dieng plateau in Indonesia. Although the uppermost part of this tower is now gone, it can be reasonably presumed on account of the presence of three quarter ribbed *āmalakas* at the fourth and sixth stages of its superstructure that the shrine was once capped by a complete *āmalaka*. Apart from features, like the projections on each face of the temple cube and their continuation on the body of the tower, the vertical contour of the *Nāgara* temples noticeably characterises Chandi Bima. Most of the remaining shrines of the Dieng group, however, betray the reverberations of South Indian *Drāvida* idiom with its pyramidal tower consisting of several clearly marked storeyed stages and variegation of wall surfaces by means of pilasters and sculptured niches. Shrines like Chandi Arjuna and Chandi Puntadeva recall the Pallava rock-cut *rathas*, Dharmaraja and Arjuna, at Mahabalipuram in Tamilnadu. The temples at Mison also bespeak the South Indian building tradition in respect of plan and elevation.

Our story will remain incomplete if we do not refer to the impact of the Buddhist temple at Paharpur, district Rajshahi, now in Bangladesh. A monument of an exotic style, the Paharpur shrine, datable to the late eighth or the early ninth century, was the model to the builders of the Brahmanical Chandi Loronggrang and the Buddhist Chandi Sewu in Indonesia and the Buddhist Ānanda temple at Pagan in Burma (Modern Myanmar). Indeed, the noteworthy characteristics of the Paharpur such as, angular projections,

truncated pyramidal shape and horizontal lines of decoration are markedly present in Chandi Loronggrang. The plan of the main temple of the Chandi Sewu also bear remarkable affinity to the second terrace of the Paharpur temple. The kinship between the Paharpur temple and the Indonesian monuments is further spelt out by the common features of terraced elevation and unbroken circumambulatory galleries. In spite of some differences, viewed as a whole, the eleventh-century Ānanda temple also appears to have been inspired by the Paharpur, and its prominent features consisting of the cruciform plan, the colossal central pile, circumambulatory corridors and the typical *Nāgara* curvilinear spire as its crowning element strongly favour this suggestion.

The surviving architectural examples in different countries in south-east Asia, mostly datable to the period from the 6th-7th to the 12th-13th century, betray the impact of Indian traditionism of both north and south Indian origins. Predictably in the earlier monuments the impress of the Indian idioms is more articulate than in the later ones. The architectural language of Borobudur and Angkor Wat evolved out of the fusion of local and alien elements is their own, yet at the same time its lingering Indian accent can hardly be ignored. Unhesitatingly the builders of such magnificent monuments accepted and assimilated Indian traditions and thus they spelt out the extent to which Indian ideas and influences reinforced and enriched their creativity, a phenomenon which perhaps lay even beyond their imagination.

# Two Stone Sculptures Depicting Deities of Time and Space in the National Museum of Nepal

GERD J. R. MEVISSEN

## I. A noteworthy Viṣṇu sculpture from Bihar

The National Museum of Nepal at Chauni, Kathmandu, houses an exceptional Viṣṇu image (Plate-VI, Fig. 1). When first noticing the sculpture in March 2003, it immediately attracted my attention because of its non-Nepalese appearance. An enquiry revealed that it had been secured by the Kathmandu police some time in the early 1990s and was subsequently handed over to the Department of Archaeology, from where it was transferred to the National Museum in April 1996.<sup>1</sup> The dimensions of the slab are 60 cm in height and 34 cm in width. Its style would suggest that it was produced in Bihar and dates from the early Pāla period.

Viṣṇu is depicted in an eight-armed form, which is quite rare in Indian art. The god stands erect (*samabhaṅga*) on a double-petalled lotus within a shallow niche. He wears a rather flat crown (*kirīṭamukuta*) with a triangular ornament in front and half-circular extensions on both sides, backed by an oval halo. His elongated ear-lobes are adorned with round beaded earrings, and two curly locks of hair fall on each shoulder. He wears a beaded necklace, a beaded sacred thread (*yujñopavīta*), beaded bracelets on the upper arms, and beaded anklets. A *vanamālā* consisting of longish flowers falls from the shoulders across the forearms and reaches down to his knees. The short waist cloth is incised with double lines and fastened by a beaded girdle.

The main right hand is held in *varadamudrā*, perhaps holding a flat fruit in his palm, while the main left hand holds a conch (*śankha*). The second right is placed on the top of a mace (*gadā*) standing vertically behind the small figure of Gadādevī, while the second left touches a wheel which rests on a raised lotus pedestal; in front of the *cakra* is the small figure of Cakrapuruṣa. Both *āyudhapuruṣas* stand in a flexed pose (*ābhanga*) on the same level as the principle figure, each holding the stem of a full-blown lotus (*padma*) in the inner hand, while the outer hand is placed on the hip. Both attendant figures are adorned with a beaded necklace and earrings, the stranded hair being bound up in a large bun on top. The third pair of hands of the principal figure holds the grip of a sword (*khadga*) on the right and a bow (*kārmuka*) on the left, the fourth pair a large arrow (*śara*) on the right and a shield (*khetaka*) on the left.<sup>2</sup>

The distribution of attributes largely corresponds to some textual prescriptions for singleheaded and eight-armed images of Viṣṇu. One of these is the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* where, however, the first right hand should be in *śūntida* gesture, i.e. *abhayamudrā*.<sup>3</sup> The

*Matsyapurāṇa* repeats the same iconography, but has a *padma* in the first right hand.<sup>4</sup> The *Agnipurāṇa* comes even closer to our image in describing *varada* for the lowermost right hand.<sup>5</sup> However, here Viṣṇu is mentioned as being (seated) on Tārkṣa, i.e. Garuda, which is obviously not the case in our image. Other texts that describe eight-armed images of Viṣṇu are the *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*,<sup>6</sup> the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, the *Abhilasītārthacintāmaṇi*, the *Īśvara Saṃhitā*, the *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā*, and the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra*,<sup>7</sup> but they all vary in one way or the other, and none of them tallies exactly with the iconography as found in our image.

Looking for comparable Viṣṇu sculptures with similar *stylistic* features, we come across a four-armed Viṣṇu from Gaya, now in the Gaya Museum,<sup>8</sup> of the late 8th or early 9th century, and a similar one sold on the American art market in 1979.<sup>9</sup> Both sculptures share several features with our Viṣṇu, for example the form of the crown, the necklace, the incised double lines of the lower garment, the style of the *vanamālā*, the posture and hairstyle of the *āyudhapuruṣas*, and the fact that the principal figure and the attendants all stand on the same level. The same holds true for a roughly contemporary Viṣṇu image from the vicinity of the Mahābodhi temple, now in the Bodhgaya Museum,<sup>10</sup> and for a slightly later sculpture of the early 9th century, also from Bodhgaya, which shows a full-blown lotus flower in the hand of the female attendant on the proper right.<sup>11</sup> We may thus assume that the Kathmandu Viṣṇu originated in the early 9th century in south Bihar (ancient Magadha), perhaps in or around Gaya.

Let us now examine the upper part of the sculpture. On the outer rim of the halo we notice a rather peculiar design of asymmetrically arranged undulating lines (see **Plate-VI, Fig. 3**), a motif that is not found *on the halo* of any other image from Eastern India. However, a sculpture from Konch near Gaya<sup>12</sup> depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī shows the same motif on top (**Plate-VI, Fig. 2**), beneath a row of planetary deities (*navagraha*), thus indicating that this design of undulating lines does not belong to the halo proper but symbolizes clouds and demarcates the border of the celestial region. Another sculpture from Gaya representing Śiva's marriage shows the same design in a more pronounced manner.<sup>13</sup> Since this way of depicting clouds beneath the row of planetary deities is not known from other regions, the two sculptures provide another piece of circumstantial evidence for the suggested provenance of the Kathmandu Viṣṇu, namely the Gaya region.

The most interesting feature of our sculpture, however, is the row of small figures carved in low relief along the rounded upper part of the back slab. Close examination shows that altogether sixteen figures are represented there, falling in two groups of eight figures each.

The first group (**Plate-VI, Fig. 3**) can easily be identified as eight planetary deities (*astagraha*), starting with Sūrya on the proper right and ending with Rūhu in the centre,

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above Viṣṇu's crown. All the figures are two-armed, and all except Rāhu are nimbate and standing. As usual, Sūrya, the Sun god, holds a full-blown lotus in each hand. The second figure, Candra, the Moon god, has his right hand raised in *abhayamudrā* while the left hangs down. Near to the left arm of Maṅgala (Mars), the third figure, we see a staff with a spread out top; his right hand is in *abhayamudrā*. Budha (Mercury) seems to hold an arrow in his right hand, only faintly visible; the left is placed on his hip. The fifth figure, Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), holds an *aksamālā* in his raised right hand while the left is lowered, perhaps holding a water-pot. The same holds true for the sixth figure, Śukra (Venus), but his right hand is in *abhayamudrā*. Śani (Saturn), the seventh figure, has his right hand also in *abhayamudrā*, while the very prominent fingers of his left hand clasp a staff with a circular top. As usual, Rāhu appears as a bulky bust with a voluminous hairstyle, holding his hands in front of him with the palms turned outwards.

The iconographic features of all the eight figures closely correspond to the iconography of the planetary deities known from numerous representations from Eastern India.<sup>14</sup> However, their number is noteworthy. That we are dealing here not with the full group of Navagrahas (including Ketu), as was the case with the Śiva-Vivāha images mentioned above (see **Plate-VI, Fig. 2**), but with Aṣṭagrahas is evident from the figure that follows Rāhu, which is certainly not Ketu but another Sūrya holding two lotuses (see **Plate-VII, Fig. 2**).

In general, Aṣṭagrahas are quite rare in Bihar. Only few examples are known, e.g. a panel from Lakhisarai, Monghyr District (**Plate-VII, Fig. 1a**),<sup>15</sup> and another one of unknown provenance in a Berlin private collection (**Plate-VII, Fig. 1b**),<sup>16</sup> which shows the planetary deities in reversed order.<sup>17</sup> The iconography of the figures is similar to that on our Viṣṇu sculpture: Here too, Candra, Bṛhaspati and Ḥukra are shown as almost identical Brahmin-like figures with their right hand raised and the left holding a water pot. The Kathmandu Viṣṇu is so far unique for including Aṣṭagrahas as subsidiary figures in a Vaiṣṇava context.<sup>18</sup>

As already noted, the second group of eight deities starts after Rāhu and consists of quite indistinct characters (**Plate-VII, Fig. 2**). Only the first and the third figures can be identified with certainty: Sūrya, the Sun god, and Vūyu, the Wind god, respectively, the latter being distinguished by a billowing cloth around his head, which he holds with his two upraised hands. The pointed chin of the fourth figure may indicate a beard or goatee; in this case it could be Agni, the Fire-god. This and all the remaining figures are shown in more or less identical form: All have their right hands raised and the left lowered, and all are nimbate. However, from the identification of the first figure as Sūrya and the third a Vāyu there can be no doubt about the identity of the whole group: They must represent the Aṣṭalokapālas. In contrast to the eight Dikpālas, the well-known and often represented group of eight directional deities, the eight Lokapālas consist of Sūrya, Soma,

Vāyu, Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, Yama and Kubera, i.e., Īśāna and Nairṛta of the Dikpālas are replaced by Sūrya and Soma, the Sun and Moon gods. This group of Lokapālas is known from only one text, the *Manusmṛti*, which contains several passages enumerating these eight deities in different orders.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, nowhere in that text they are linked to the directions, but it is said that a king embodies in his self all the eight Lokapālas. In the following, I will refer to the Lokapālas according to the enumerations in the *Manusmṛti* as “Aṣṭalokapālas” (or “Lokapālas”) in contrast to the traditional group of “Aṣṭadikpālas” (or “Dikpālas”).

For unknown reasons, the Aṣṭalokapālas became quite popular in South Bihar during the 9th century. A number of independent stone panels have come to light that bear representations of the eight deities. One is now in the Archaeological Museum, Patna (**Plate-VII, Fig. 3a**);<sup>20</sup> it shows the standing figures of Sūrya, Soma, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, Yama, and Kubera. Another one from the Monghyr District (**Plate-VII, Fig. 3b**) is now in the Asian Art Museum, Berlin;<sup>21</sup> it depicts the eight deities seated in the same order, except Kubera and Yama at the end who occupy exchanged positions. In both examples the sequence starts with Sūrya, and Vāyu occupies the third position.

Besides these complete panels,<sup>22</sup> there are three others that contain only a section of the group. Most probably they once belonged to complete sequences that continued on neighbouring stone slabs, since all look like architectural members and may have originally formed part of temple walls or bases. A slab of unknown provenance, also in the Patna Museum (**Plate-VIII, Fig. 1a**),<sup>23</sup> shows the seated figures of the first five deities in the same order, again with Vāyu in the third position; Agni seems to have a beard falling on his chest. Another panel hails from Guneri, Gaya District,<sup>24</sup> and is now in the Bodhgaya Museum (**Plate-VIII, Fig. 1b**). It shows the last six deities of the group, namely Vāyu, Varuṇa, Agni (with a prominent goatee), Indra, Yama and Kubera, while Sūrya and Soma at the beginning of the sequence are missing. The last and latest panel is presently embedded in the courtyard wall of the Viṣṇupada Temple, Gaya (**Plate-VIII, Fig. 1c**).<sup>25</sup> Here, the first three figures, Sūrya, Soma and Vāyu, are missing, and only the last five deities are extant, of which four are seated on their respective *vāhanas*: bearded Agni backed by flames on a ram, Indra on an elephant, Yama on a buffalo, Varuṇa on a peculiar aquatic being, and Kubera with a pot under his seat. In contrast to the previous examples, Varuṇa is placed between Yama and Kubera, and Agni is shown at the beginning, i.e., as the fourth figure of the full sequence. Thus, the only Lokapāla panel known from Gaya assigns the same (namely the fourth) position to Agni as probably does the Viṣṇu sculpture in the Kathmandu Museum, another hint at its possible provenance from the Gaya region.

Now, looking for comparable sculptures from Bihar in which the Lokapālas serve as subsidiary figures in larger compositions, we do not find any from a Vaiṣṇava context. There are, however, some Śaiva sculptures that should be mentioned here. On a Śiva-

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Vivāha image from Badgaon near Nalanda the Aṣṭalokapālas occupy the frieze at the top (**Plate-VIII, Fig. 2**).<sup>26</sup> Each figure has a circular *prabhāmaṇḍala* consisting of a single band, only the fourth figure has a double-banded *prabhāmaṇḍala*. Though badly corroded, we can recognize Sūrya as the first figure, followed by Soma and Varuṇa. The fourth is Vāyu, holding the billowing cloth shown as the extra band of his nimbus, followed by Agni, Indra, Yama and Kubera.<sup>27</sup>

A number of Śiva-Vivāha images from Bihar bear representations of an abbreviated Lokapāla group consisting of only five or six members,<sup>28</sup> but always including Vāyu and Sūrya. In the one from the Russek Collection in Switzerland (**Plate-IX, Fig. 1**),<sup>29</sup> Vāyu occupies the apex, flanked on his right by Agni and Indra, and on his left by Sūrya and Soma.<sup>30</sup> It should be emphasized that no Śiva-Vivāha image—nor any other Śiva *mūrti*—is known from Bihar that shows subsidiary figures of Aṣṭa<sup>o</sup> or Navagrahas and Lokapālas simultaneously,<sup>31</sup> as does our Kathmandu Viṣṇu.

Let us now return to Vaiṣṇava images. Though not from Bihar, there are some Viṣṇu sculptures from neighbouring regions which include two groups of subsidiary deities. They show the god reclining on the primordial snake Ananta.<sup>32</sup> The Anantaśāyin from Banyesvar in Murshidabad District, West Bengal, which is not traceable anymore and of which only a single, very bad photograph seems to exist, lines up the Aṣṭadikpālas led by Vāyu and the Navagrahas led by Sūrya on both sides of the centrally placed Brahmā in the upper register, Śani being the only other deity that can be identified with certainty because of his limping leg.<sup>33</sup> Another Anantaśāyin from Madhya Pradesh in the Indian Museum, Kolkata,<sup>34</sup> has the same layout, though the figures are much more stereotype thus following the Central Indian tradition.<sup>35</sup> However, not a single image of Anantaśāyin with Aṣṭalokapālas, neither alone nor together with Aṣṭa<sup>o</sup> or Navagrahas, has yet come to light.

In another image type, the so-called *Viṣṇupattas* from Bengal, we again find figures of Navagrahas and Aṣṭadikpālas simultaneously. In the example now in the Art Institute of Chicago (**Plate-IX, Fig. 2**),<sup>36</sup> the Navagrahas are shown in reversed order in the top register and the Aṣṭadikpālas at the bottom.<sup>37</sup> No Aṣṭalokapāla sequence has yet been found on any *Viṣṇupatta*.<sup>38</sup>

Focussing our attention now on standing Viṣṇu images with more than four arms that show Navagrahas and Aṣṭadikpālas,<sup>39</sup> we have to mention the magnificent Viśvarūpa from Suhania in Morena District, Madhya Pradesh, now in the State Archaeological Museum, Bhopal,<sup>40</sup> dating from the 9th or 10th century (**Plate-IX, Fig. 3**). The god stands in *ābhanga* posture, is five-headed with four lateral animal heads and was originally ten-armed. Although considerably damaged, we can notice the former presence of all the attributes of our eight-armed Kathmandu Viṣṇu, with an additional axe on the proper right and a (damaged) plough on the proper left. Above the principal figure there are three friezes containing representations of the twelve Ādityas in the top register and at the sides, the

eight Dikpālas, all riding their respective *vāhanas*, in the middle register, while the lower register is divided into two parts, showing on the proper right the planetary deities without Sūrya and the eight bull-headed Vasus on the proper left. This image thus contains the whole array of cosmic deities symbolizing time<sup>41</sup> and space<sup>42</sup> in order to indicate the cosmic nature of Viśvarūpa, the universal form of Viṣṇu.

In fact, the multi-headedness, the *ābhāṅga* posture and the configuration of the eight attributes, namely mace and disk, sword and shield, bow and arrow(s), conch-shell and hand gesture (either *varada*<sup>o</sup>, *abhaya*<sup>o</sup> or *vyākhyānamudrā*), are characteristic for developed Viśvarūpa images from the sixth century onwards,<sup>43</sup> even if the images have ten hands. This applies not only to the heartland of the Viśvarūpa cult in Northwest and Central India, but also to East Bengal, as can be seen in the five-faced Viśvarūpa from Panchbethiar, Tangail District, now in the Bangladesh National Museum (**Plate-IX, Fig. 4**).<sup>44</sup> This image keeps to the above scheme as regards the *ābhāṅga* posture, but differs slightly in showing the lower left hand in *ūruhasta*<sup>45</sup> while the shield (or the conch-shell) has not been depicted.<sup>46</sup>

In Bihar, however, the situation is somewhat different. Only two Viśvarūpa images from Bihar have so far been found. The one in the Sūrya temple at Badgaon near Nalanda (**Plate-X, Fig. 1**) may be dated to the 10th century; it is three-headed with two lateral human heads<sup>47</sup> and three small seated figures above.<sup>48</sup> The distribution of the eight attributes follows the conventional scheme.<sup>49</sup> However, the posture of the image is *samabhāṅga* and not *ābhāṅga*.<sup>50</sup>

The *samabhāṅga* stance combined with the eight conventional attributes is also found with the second Viśvarūpa from Bihar (**Plate-X, Fig. 2**). The image was collected from the village Moriyama near Taregana, Patna District, and was registered under the Antiquities and Treasure Act in 1982. It is now being worshipped in a private house in Patna.<sup>51</sup> The photograph reproduced here, which has repeatedly been published since 1951, seems to be the only one ever taken of the sculpture. The eight-armed god stands in *samabhāṅga* on a pedestal on which are carved five fishes. He is five-headed, with four small lateral animal heads,<sup>52</sup> only faintly visible on the photograph. On top of the *mukuta* of the human head is a seated human figure.<sup>53</sup> The back plate is embellished with standing figures of the Ādityas<sup>54</sup> encircled by human heads at the outer rim of the sculpture, but the actual number of figures and heads is hard to determine.<sup>55</sup> In any case, the cosmic nature of Viśvarūpa is symbolized here through the representation of the solar Ādityas around his head. The overall appearance and compositional structure of the Moriyama Viśvarūpa bears close similarities with the Kathmandu Viṣṇu, the main difference being the single-headedness of the latter.

There is one point that strikes the eye of the observer of the Kathmandu image, namely the obvious emphasis laid on the number “eight”. We see eight arms and attributes plus

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two groups of eight figures arranged symmetrically around the central axis of the hieratic image. Recently attention has been drawn to the eight-fold, lower nature of god, and to some rare icons depicting Viṣṇu as Aṣṭadhā Prakṛti, as the unevolved, imperishable materiality.<sup>56</sup> They can be linked with a section in the *Bhagavadgīta* that precedes the celebrated epiphany of the Viśvarūpa form. According to Doris Srinivasan's classification, the number "eight" is fundamental to such images, which are single-headed, eight-armed, and stand in *samapada*.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps, the Kathmandu image follows the same concept. In any case, it is a unique example for Aṣṭagrahas accompanying Viṣṇu, and for showing Aṣṭalokapālas as subsidiary figures. By the simultaneous presence of eight plus eight deities of time and space the eight-armed Viṣṇu image is linked with the Viśvarūpa complex, which—as we have seen—is a very complex subject as far as Eastern Indian iconography is concerned.

### **II. A unique Buddhist Sūrya sculpture with Graha figures**

Whereas the previous image in the Kathmandu Museum originated in Bihar, the second sculpture was certainly produced in Nepal. It is a small Sūrya relief,<sup>58</sup> made of grey sandstone and measuring 21.3 cm in height and 18.7 cm in width (**Plate-X, Fig. 3**). The rim of the slab is embellished with stylized flames.

The figure of Sūrya in the centre of the composition is shown seated in *padmāsana* in a shallow niche backed by concentric flames and flanked by two larger flames at waist-level. He holds the stems of two ten-petalled lotuses in his raised hands. His face is damaged, his head is adorned with a crown and backed by a pointed nimbus, and from his shoulders falls a long flower-garland down to his crossed feet, in front of which was originally a seated figure of Sūrya's charioteer Aruṇa, now almost completely damaged with only remnants preserved. Sūrya is shown riding a chariot drawn by seven rearing horses, all supplied with wings, which is typical for Nepalese Sūrya images. Unfortunately the heads of all the horses as well as most of their front legs are damaged, but the reins by which they were directed by Aruṇa are still visible, converging towards the centre. Behind the horses we can still notice the lattice structure of the chariot's front.

Including Aruṇa, the total number of subsidiary figures surrounding Sūrya amounts to twelve, nine arranged in a semicircle on the projecting *prabhāmandala* and two additional ones rising from the extreme ends of the chariot with their feet embedded in the pedestal. The latter are considerably damaged, but enough remains to recognize their striding posture, engaged in some vigorous action. Though their hands and attributes are not preserved, they can be identified as the female archers often found with Sūrya images, discharging arrows towards the outside, as still indicated by the lifted elbow of the figure on the proper right side.

Eight of the nine figures on the *prabhāmandala* are also easy to identify: They are the fellow-Grahas of Sūrya encircling their leader, all seated in *padmāsana*. The sequence

runs in clockwise order; it starts with the Moon god Candra on the proper right of Sūrya and ends with Ketu on the proper left.

Candra (**Plate-X, Fig. 4a**) is two-armed like Sūrya, but he has his right in *abhayamudrā* holding the stalk of a full-blown, nine-petalled lotus, while his left holds a long staff. The iconography comes close to the description of Candra in the *Matsyapurāṇa*, where he is said to hold a club in one hand and the other raised, in the posture of giving blessings.<sup>59</sup>

The next figure is Bhauma or Maṅgala (Mars) (**Plate-X, Fig. 4b**). Unlike the previous ones, he is four-armed, with his front right hand in *varadamudrā*, the left being damaged in front of his chest. The rear right hand holds a longish object, a club is seen in his rear left hand. He seems to be seated on a cloud, a feature also found with the following Grahas, who are also fourarmed. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes him with four hands, armed with a spear, a lance and a club, the fourth hand raised in the posture of giving blessings. This description slightly differs from our image.

Budha (Mercury) is severely damaged (**Plate-X, Fig. 4c**). Only the bow, his characteristic attribute, is preserved in his rear left hand. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes him with four hands, armed with a sword, a shield and a club, the fourth hand raised in the posture of giving blessings, and having a lion for his conveyance. This description differs considerably from our image.

Further up is Br̥haspati (Jupiter) (**Plate-X, Fig. 4d**), his two front hands are lowered down, the left perhaps holding a water-pot, while the attributes in his rear hands are not discernable. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes him with four hands, holding a staff, a rosary and *kamandalu*, the fourth hand raised in the posture of giving blessings.

The sequence continues on the other side with Śukra (Venus) (**Plate-X, Fig. 4e**), who is conceived similar to Br̥haspati; the attributes are no more recognizable. In the *Matsyapurāṇa* he is described as holding the same attributes as Br̥haspati.

The head of Ḫani (Saturn) is also damaged (**Plate-X, Fig. 4f**), but two longish staffs in his right hands are preserved; the front left hand was probably in *varadamudrā*. An interesting feature are his emaciated forearms, a feature often found on Śani images from Nepal. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes him with four hands, armed with a lance, a bow and an arrow, the fourth hand raised in the posture of giving blessings, and having a vulture for his conveyance.

Rāhu with his characteristic large head is quite well preserved (**Plate-X, Fig. 4g**). He is devoid of legs and rises directly from the cloud. He holds a sun disk in his front right hand, the corresponding moon disk in his left being abraded. Sword and shield are the attributes in his rear hands. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes him with four hands, armed with a sword, a leather shield and a spear, the fourth hand raised in the posture of giving blessings, and being seated on a blue-coloured lion.

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Ketu is the only figure which does not show any damage (**Plate-X, Fig. 4h**), even the face and crown are well preserved and give an impression how the other Grahas must have looked like. Ketu is depicted female as a two-armed *nāginī* with a snake-tail, holding a longish staff in the right and a large snake in the left hand. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes Ketu with two hands, one holding a mace and the other raised in the posture of giving blessings, having a distorted face and a vulture for his conveyance.

As we have seen, the iconography of the Graha figures, as far as the number of arms is concerned, resembles the description in the *Matsyapurāṇa*, but some of the attributes differ and the *vāhanas* described therein are not found in our sculpture. However, no other textual description comes as close as that of the *Matsyapurāṇa*.<sup>60</sup> Looking for formal similarities, we notice that all the Graha figures in our sculpture are backed by a large round *prabhāmaṇḍala* bordered by flames, which encompasses the whole body as well as the head, and at least the heads of Budha, Br̥haspati and Śukra are backed by an additional, pointed halo.

Now we should have a closer look at the extra figure seated at the apex of the slab (**Plate-X, Fig. 4x**). The body nimbus differs from that of the Grahas in being shorter and with a plain surface and border, and the head halo being round and wider than that of the Grahas. The face is damaged, and the two hands are joined in the lap performing *dhyānamudrā*; he thus resembles the figure of a Buddha.

In Nepalese art we can distinguish three categories of *Grahamāṇḍalas*, according to the religious context in which they appear.<sup>61</sup> The religious context, if indicated, is usually deducible from the figure or symbol placed at the apex of the image. Thus, apart from *Grahamāṇḍalas* without any additional apex figure,<sup>62</sup> there are several *Maṇḍalas* where a Śaiva or Buddhist affiliation is hinted at. Another Sūrya sculpture in the Kathmandu Museum (**Plate-XI, Fig. 1**)<sup>63</sup> may serve as an example for the first category, i.e. without indication of the religious context, where except for two Vidyādharaś no extra figure has been shown at the apex. The Grahas, all two-armed, are arranged in the usual clockwise order, and a special feature of this sculpture are small standing figures of Daṇḍin and Piṅgala at the bottom, who are only rarely seen in Nepalese Sūrya sculptures.<sup>64</sup>

The second category comprises the Śaiva *Grahamāṇḍalas*. An example for this category is kept in the National Art Gallery at Bhaktapur (**Plate-XI, Fig. 2**); it is dated by an inscription to either 1462, 1468 or 1469 AD.<sup>65</sup> Sūrya is shown seated behind Aruṇa and flanked by two female archers. The Grahas are arranged in the usual clockwise order, interspersed with a *linga* at the apex. In the lower portion some interesting figures are to be seen, which are peculiar to Nepalese Sūrya images: On the proper right is shown a *nāga* supporting the axle of Sūrya's chariot,<sup>66</sup> while on the opposite another figure holds up with his hands the single wheel of the chariot.<sup>67</sup> At the bottom two demons shrink away from a stylized lotus rising from the pedestal.

Several Candramāndalas also belongs to the Śaiva category. A sculpture dated in the inscription to 1429 AD, originally hailing from Patan near Kathmandu, was stolen prior to 1987 and finally found its way into an American private collection (**Plate-XII, Fig. 1**).<sup>68</sup> Like Sūrya, Candra is accompanied by two female archers and Aruṇa, who directs the seven geese (*haiśa*) that draw Candra's chariot. In this case the sequence of the surrounding Grahas starts at the top with Sūrya holding two lotuses and continues clockwise with Maṅgala, Budha, etc., ending with snake-tailed Ketu. A tiny Śiva-*linga* at the apex indicates that the sculpture belongs to a Śaiva context.

Another Candra image from Patan is now in the Patan Museum (**Plate-XII, Fig. 2**).<sup>69</sup> It is dated to 1426 AD, i.e. three years earlier than the previous one, which it resembles very much. Major differences are that here Candra is accompanied by two consorts, the Grahas are shown seated on their respective *vāhanas*, and a hare (or ram) is carved at the base backed by a rocky landscape. Again we notice a small Śiva-*linga* at the apex.

So far we have mentioned only stone sculptures of Grahamaṇdalas from a Śaiva context, but there are also several metal images belonging to this category.<sup>70</sup> Such a Sūryamāndala was repeatedly offered on the American art market (**Plate-XIII, Fig. 1**).<sup>71</sup> The surrounding Graha sequence starts on the lower proper right of Sūrya and continues in clockwise order. Each Graha is shown seated on his *vāhana*. The *linga* at the apex is quite prominent.

The *linga* is even more prominent in a metal Grahamaṇdala which was sold on the European art market (**Plate-XIII, Fig. 2**).<sup>72</sup> Except for the exchange of the central figure (and the missing tiny figure of Sūrya), the arrangement as well as the iconography of the Grahas are similar to the previous one.

As we have seen, a Śaiva affiliation could be ascertained for quite a number of stone and metal Grahamaṇdalas. The situation is, however, different for painted images. Only three Śaiva Sūryamāndalas have surfaced so far, and not a single Candramāndala. In a Sūryamāndala dating from the late 14th century (**Plate-XIII, Fig. 3**), formerly in the Zimmerman collection, New York,<sup>73</sup> the centre is occupied by Sūrya, surrounded by the remaining eight Grahas in the first and the twenty-eight Nakṣatras in the second circle. Small symbols of the twelve zodiacal signs (*rāśi*) are found in the four corners. In the register above the central circle are figures of the twelve Ādityas, and in the register below are the eight Dikpālas. Thus, the painting depicts the whole array of deities symbolizing time as well as the cosmic and the mundane space. In addition, the remaining registers are filled with numerous Hindu, predominantly Śaiva, deities, with Śiva and Umā-Maheśvara in the centre of the upper two registers, respectively, pointing to the Śaiva affiliation of the painting.

Another Sūryamāndala, dated to 1537 AD, is in a Dutch private collection (**Plate-XIII, Fig. 4**).<sup>74</sup> The arrangement of the deities is basically similar to the previous painting,

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with a few alterations: Between the Graha and the Nakṣatra circles occurs a third circle, occupied by the twelve Ādityas, and the number of the outer registers has been reduced. But again, the Śaiva affiliation can be deduced from the predominantly Śaiva images in the topmost register flanking a Śiva seated on his bull in the centre.<sup>75</sup>

Now we proceed to the third category of Grahamaṇḍalas, namely those which can be linked to a Buddhist context. Whereas not a single Candramāṇḍala painting with Śaiva affiliation has been found so far, there are numerous such paintings with Buddhist deities as subsidiary figures, indicating that Candramāṇḍalas were very popular among the Nepalese Buddhists.<sup>76</sup> Two examples are in the Zimmerman collection, New York, one dating from the early 15th century,<sup>77</sup> the other from the 16th century.<sup>78</sup> In the earlier painting Candra is encircled by three rings containing the eight remaining Grahas, the sixteen Kalās (personified digits of the Moon), and the eight Dikpālas accompanied by thirty-two unidentified deities, while the corner spaces are filled with the zodiacal signs and four protective goddesses of the Pañcarakṣā group. In the top register are the transcendental Buddhas with Vairocana, the Buddha of Light, in the centre. The same arrangement is found in a Candramāṇḍala which was sold on the American art market in 1980 (**Plate-XIV, Fig. 1**),<sup>79</sup> but here the corner zones do not contain images of the four Rakṣā goddesses and the top register is either missing or at least not visible on the published photograph.

The second, later Zimmerman painting has a reduced programme consisting of only two circles with the Grahas and the Dikpālas, while the deities in the top register are similar to the first painting with Vairocana in the centre. The general iconographic programme is even more reduced in a painting from the former Jucker collection (**Plate-XIV, Fig. 2**),<sup>80</sup> where only the Graha circle remains. Interestingly, here Sūrya and Candra make a second appearance as flanking deities of the Pañcatathāgatas in the top register.

A very elaborate and unique Candramāṇḍala of the 15th century, also from the former Jucker collection,<sup>81</sup> shows a completely different arrangement (**Plate-XIV, Fig. 3**). Here Candra is encircled by the Kalās, but only fifteen Kalās are represented by anthropomorphic white figures, while the sixteenth, the invisible and eternal one, is represented by a *stūpa* just above Candra's head. Next comes the circle with the twenty-eight Nakṣatras followed by the circle of the forty deities including the Dikpālas. The Grahas are conspicuously absent here. The bottom register shows the Pañcarakṣā goddesses with Mahāpratisarā in the centre, while the top register depicts the usual Pañcatathāgatas with Vairocana in the centre.

A stone sculpture in which Candra is encircled by the sixteen Kalās in anthropomorphic form belongs to the Bhaktapur Art Gallery (**Plate-XIV, Fig. 4**).<sup>82</sup> It is dated by an inscription to 1468 AD. As in the previous example, the Grahas are absent here, but there is no indication of the religious context. Certainly from a Buddhist context, however, are

two similar Candramāṇḍala paintings. They are quite late, probably dating from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The first was formerly in the Jucker collection (**Plate-XV, Fig. 1**),<sup>83</sup> the second was sold on the American art market in 1997 (**Plate-XV, Fig. 2**).<sup>84</sup> Both of them show a reduced iconographic programme consisting of Candra encircled by sixteen Kalā figures, the top registers being filled with the Pañcatathāgatas, who are supplied with *vāhanas* in the former Jucker painting.

In contrast to the large number of Buddhist Candramāṇḍalas, Buddhist Sūryamāṇḍalas are very rare. Indeed, only one such painting has surfaced so far, which belongs to the Ford collection (**Plate-XV, Fig. 3**).<sup>85</sup> It probably dates from the 15th century and has an iconographic programme similar to some of the Candramāṇḍalas mentioned above, namely two circles containing Grahas and Ādityas. The corners are filled with the eight auspicious symbols of the Buddhists (*aṣṭamaṅgala*), and as usual the Pañcatathāgatas with Vairocana in the centre occupy the top register. This painting is especially important as until recently it was the only known example of a Sūryamāṇḍala with Buddhist affiliation.

After having examined the whole array of Nepalese Grahamaṇḍalas, we are now in the position to confidently state that the newly found Sūryamāṇḍala in the Kathmandu Museum (**Plate-X, Figs. 3-4**) is indeed unique, as it turns out to be the only Buddhist Sūryamāṇḍala in stone.

#### Notes and References:

1. Apparently the sculpture still does not have a museum's accession number; its identity is recorded according to Letter Number 1980 dated 2052-12-29 (information kindly supplied by Bharat Rawat, Curator, National Museum, Kathmandu, April 2004). It has been published and discussed in Mevissen 2008a: *passim*, figs. 1, 3 and 5.
2. Actually the pairing of the four upper attributes is *khadga* || *khetaka* and *śara* || *kārmuka*, since the arm holding the sword is shown in front of the raised one holding the arrow and the raised arm holding the shield is shown in front of the one holding the bow, thus resulting in a logical distribution of corresponding attributes.
3. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 57.31-35; cf. Gopinatha Rao 1914, pt. II, app. C: 70-71; Banerjea 1956: 396, n. 3; Mallmann 1963: 40-41; Desai 1973: 15; Srinivasan 1997: 248; see also Bautze-Picron 1994: 155.
4. *Matsyapurāṇa* 258.7-8; cf. Desai 1973: 15, 22, n. 104. The same attributes are prescribed in the *Devatāmūrtiprakarana* (*ibid.*).
5. *Agnipurāṇa* 49.16-17; cf. Mallmann 1963: 40-41.
6. *Sāttvata Saṃhitā* 12.223; cf. Desai 1973: 15.
7. For references to the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 3.44, *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* I, 3.1.7. 33-34, *Īśvara Saṃhitā* 4.101, *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 10.60 and 17.2, and *Samaraṅgana Sūtradhāra* II, 77.40, cf. Prasad 1960-61: 141, n. 5.
8. From the Kṛṣṇa-Dvārka temple, now in the Gaya Museum; cf. Asher 1980: 80, pl. 158; Bautze-Picron 1985: 448, no. 21.

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- Kaman, Bharatpur Dist., now National Museum, New Delhi (inv.no. 69.134), size 98.5 x 68.5 cm (cf. Mukhopadhyay 1967-68: pl. II, fig. 9; Sivaramamurti 1975: 45, plate; Parimoo 2000: fig. 601; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 83-84, figs. 302-303).
28. For a unique image depicting Gaurī with *sadyojāta* Śiva accompanied by five Loka<sup>o</sup> or Dikpālas (Vāyu, Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, Yama), see Mevissen 2004-05: *passim*; Mevissen 2006b: *passim*; Mevissen 2008c: 98-99, fig. 33, pl. 363.
  29. Russek Collection, inv.no. 836 I BIP, size 60 x 38 x 13 cm, 10th/11th century. Cf. Mevissen 2002: 106, 108, pl. 8.5a-b, 119, n. 11.
  30. For similar Śiva-Vivāha sculptures, see (1) National Museum, New Delhi (inv.no. 60.1201), size 52 x 31 x 19.5 cm, ca. 10th century (cf. Mevissen 2002: 107-108, pl. 8.8, 119, n. 14, with further references); (2) Present location unknown, height 37 cm (cf. Mevissen 2002: 106, pl. 8.6, 108, 119, n. 12, with further references); (3) Present location unknown (cf. Mevissen 2002: 106, pl. 8.7a-b, 108, 119, n. 13); (4) Indian Museum, Kolkata (inv.no. 3833), size 52 x 31 cm (cf. Mevissen 2002: 120, n. 15, with further references, not ill.); (5) from Katyura, now Lucknow Museum (inv.no. 52.82), formerly Faizabad Museum, size 31 x 22 cm (cf. Trivedi 1986: *citra* 1; Mevissen 2002: 119-120, n. 15, with further references, not ill.); (6) from Harnauti, Aligarh, now Lucknow Museum (inv.no. S.745), size 33 x 28.5 cm (cf. Joshi 1989, 1: 90, no. 39, fig. 23).
  31. For two Śiva-Vivāha images from Bengal showing Navagrahas and Aṣṭadikpālas, see (1) from Rampal, Dhaka, now Bangīya Sāhitya Parisad, Kolkata (inv.no. 285), size 54.6 x 28.6 cm, ca. 11th/12th century (cf. Mevissen 2002: 104-105, pl. 8.4, 119, n. 10, with further references); (2) from Sankarbandha, now Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka (inv.no. 35), size 71 x 38cm, ca. 12th century (cf. Mevissen 2002: 103-104, pls. 8.3a-b, 119, n. 9; Mevissen 2008c: 99-100, fig. 34 & cat. \*30, with further references). For two Śiva-Nartteśvara images from Bengal showing Navagrahas and Aṇḍadikpālas, see (1) from Sankarbandha, now Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, size 83.8 x 63.5 cm (cf. Banerjea 1956: 475, pl. XXXVII.3; Rahman 1979: 17, fig. 2; Mevissen 2002: 108-109, pl. 8.9, 120, n. 18, with further references); (2) Karachi Museum (cf. Mevissen 2002: 109-110, pl. 8.10, 120, n. 20, with further references; Shah 2004: *passim*).
  32. Images of Anantaśāyin with Navagrahas only, or with Navagrahas plus other figures than Dikpālas, are very numerous (presently about 40 items are known to me), all hailing from Western, Northern or Central India. See e.g. Gopinatha Rao 1914, pt. I: pl. XXXIV; Desai 1973: fig. 24 (= Parimoo 1983: fig. 7; = Vacherot 1999: fig. 137); Parimoo 1983: figs. 13, 15 (= Vacherot 1999: figs. 138-139), 17, 19(?), 23, 24 (= Vacherot 1999: fig. 136), 25(?), 39(?), 41(?), 44, 50; Mevissen 2002: 111, pl. 8.12. For a discussion of the role of the planetary deities in this type of image, see Parimoo 1983: 42; Markel 1995: 14-15; Vacherot 1999: 84-85.
  33. Cf. Mevissen 2002: 110-111, 120, n. 21 (with further references), pl. 8.11; Bhattacharya (2003: 5-6, 18, n. 24, pl. 5) questions the former presence of (Rāhu and) Ketu in the group of Grahas.
  34. Indian Museum, Kolkata, inv.no. N.S. 3926; from Mabai, Maihar, Madhya Pradesh. Cf. Mevissen 2008a: 131, fig. 10.

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35. For two other images of this type, see (1) Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (inv.no. MIK I 9972), size 38 x 60 cm (cf. Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 85, fig. 327); (2) Kishanvilas, Rajasthan (cf. Parimoo 1983: 67, figs. 30-32; Parimoo 2000: pls. 369-370).
36. Art Institute of Chicago, size ca. 20 x 20 cm, 11th/12th century. Cf. Bautze-Picron 1994: 135, 153-154, 167, fig. 11; Mevissen 2002: 111-113, pl. 8.13. Both the Navagrahas and the Aṣṭadikpālas are arranged in a somehow peculiar internal order.
37. A second, now fragmentary example from Parisan in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, has panels of the same groups in similar positions; cf. Mevissen 2002: 113, pl. 8.14, 120, n. 28 (with further references).
38. Wessels-Mevissen (2001: 90, n. 465) considers the Dikpāla group on the Viṣṇupatṭa at Chicago as “may be a contaminated version” of the Manu Lokapālas.
39. Only few standing four-armed Viṣṇu images include Navagrahas; see e.g. the one dated to 1147 AD, found near the Qutb-Minar, Mehrauli, Delhi, now in the National Museum, New Delhi (inv.no. L.39), which shows Navagrahas (but no Dikpālas) in the top row; cf. IAAR 1958-59: 71, pl. LXXIV.A; Sivaramamurti 1977: 400, fig. 576; Michell 1982: 197, fig. 345; Mukhopadhyay 1984: fig. 13; Huntington 1985: 499, fig. 20.62; Vacherot 1999: fig. 140. 40. Formerly in the Gwalior Museum, size 87 x 57 x 16 cm. Cf. Desai 1973: 46, fig. 44; Chakravarty 1984: upper fig. opp. p. 80; Maxwell 1990: *passim*, figs. 1-14 (10th cent.); Kacker 1997: 27, fig.; Willis 1997: 73, 82, pl. 117 (9th cent.); *Bhopal* 2001: 46-47, fig. on p. 36; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 86-87 (not ill.); Mevissen 2008a: 131-132, fig. 11.
41. For Viśvarūpa sculptures from Western and Northern India showing Navagrahas, see e.g. (1) from Bhusawar, Rajasthan, now Rajasthan State Museum, Bharatpur (inv.no. 179/61); cf. Maxwell 1992: *passim*, fig. 13, pls. 58-61 (Navagrahas + Aṣṭavasus); (2) from Aghat, Etah, Uttar Pradesh; cf. Joshi 1989, 1: 206, no. 75 (Ādityas + Grahas?), not ill.
42. A damaged eight-armed, five-headed Viśvarūpa from Manwadiha, Sitapur District, Uttar Pradesh, now in the Lucknow Museum (inv.no. H.124), shows (remnants of) several subsidiary figures, including Surya, Indra, Yama, Vāyu, Agni and Kubera encircling the principal image, pointing to the Aṣṭalokapālas rather than Aṣṭadikpālas (cf. Trivedi 1987: 59-61, fig. 1; Joshi 1989, 1: 206-207, no. 77, fig. 28). The same may apply to another fragmentary Viśvarūpa sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (inv.no. H.78); cf. Joshi 1989, 1: 206, no. 76 (not ill.). For Viśvarūpa sculptures with Dikpālas, see Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 85-87.
43. See Maxwell 1973: 66, Diagram 1 (“Abstract composite diagram of the mature northern Viśvarūpa image-type (6th-8th centuries AD)”; Maxwell 1998: 73.
44. BNM Dhaka, inv.no. 80.509, size 52 x 27 cm, ca. 9th century; cf. Bhattacharya 1992: 317-319, figs. 38.1-2 (= 2000: 293-294, 588, pls. 27.1-2); Maxwell 1998: 71-73, pl. 2.6 & col.pl. 2.6 on p.12.
45. In that it resembles the eight-armed Viṣṇu image in Cave 3 at Badami, Karnataka, where the god stands in *samabhayā* and is single-headed with a small Narasiṁha head rising from the crown, and a similar eight-armed, single-headed Viṣṇu (without Narasiṁha head) in the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (for references see *infra*, note 57).

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46. Interestingly, the female attendant on the proper right seems to hold a quiver from which the principal figure draws an arrow, a detail which is duplicated in the Lucknow image (H.124) mentioned above (cf. note 42).
47. In that it resembles the Viśvarūpa images from Samalaji, Gujarat (cf. e.g. Maxwell 1973: pl. 5; Maxwell 1988: pls. 57-58), and Changu Narayan, Nepal (cf. e.g. Maxwell 1975: fig. 20; Maxwell 1997, pl. 31).
48. Maxwell (1998: 70) tentatively identified them as “Vāmana, Hayagrīva, and three-headed Brahmā or Śiva, a sequence of deities [sic] which is well known in this position in the iconography of Gurjara-Pratihāra Viśvarūpa images (Maxwell 1988 : 249-269 ; and Maxwell 1994 : 102-103).”
49. Maxwell (1998: 68-70, pl. 2.5 & col.pl. 2.5 on p. 11) remarks (p. 70) that “one of the hands on the right and its attribute are missing. [...] it is the arrow from one of the right hands which is missing”. However, on the photograph by J. Bautze published by Bautze-Picron (1994: 162, fig. 1) the tip of an arrow is clearly visible on the proper right, just between the upper ends of the mace and the sword. On the same photo there is an oblique dark line or shadow between the hand holding the sword and the one holding the fruit, perhaps a remnant of the “missing right hand”. This dark line is not visible on Maxwell’s photo.
50. For twenty-armed Viśvarūpa images from Bangladesh, all standing in *samabhayga*, see (1) from Dinajpur, now Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi (inv.no. 1492), single-headed (cf. Banerjea 1956: 426, pl. XXVI.2; Haque 1992: 97-98, 346, no. 352 [with further references], 450, pl. 72; Rahman 1998: 86, no. 216 [with further references], 595, pl. 97); (2) from Vikrampur, now lost, with four(?) human heads (cf. Basu 1934: 638 & plate; Haque 1992: 98, 356, no. 640, not ill.); (3) from Chandatala, Munshiganj District, now Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, with four lateral animal heads, Navagrahas and many other deities (cf. Akmam 1999: 470-474, pl. 36.3); (4) provenance unknown, now Rietberg Museum, Zürich (inv.no. RbW 813, RVJ 293), with two lateral animal heads (cf. Bautze-Picron 1994: 155, 162, fig. 2).
51. The image (size 84 x 40.5 cm) is under worship in the house of B.K. Lakhaiyar in Patna, near Jahaji, Kothi, Kadamkuan; cf. Bhattacharya 1951: 61-65 & plate (“11th-12th century”); Prasad 1960-61: 141-142, fig. 10; Bhattacharya 1992: 319-321 (“10th century”), fig. 38.3 (= 2000: 294-295, 588, pl. 27.3); Bautze-Picron 1994: 155, n. 68 (“The image [...] is of course not to be dated in the 10th c. [...]; it is still a pre-Pāla image”; not ill.). Debala Mitra, who seems to be the only scholar having personally seen the image in recent times, described it in a personal letter to Gouriswar Bhattacharya, dated 28/3/1990 (cf. Bhattacharya 1992: 324-325, ns. 10-12 [= 2000: 296, ns. 10-12]).
52. According to T.P. Bhattacharya (1951: 63) and Debala Mitra (cf. preceding note), the right heads are those of a boar (lower) and a horse (upper), while on the left is a full tortoise (lower) and a lion’s head (upper). Prasad (1960-61: 141) sees “*Kūrma* (tortoise) and (*Siṁha*) (lion) in the proper left and *Varāha* (boar) and *Aśva* (horse) in the proper right.” Bhattacharya (1992: 320; = 2000: 295), for whom the central human head “seems to be a later restoration”, describes the lateral heads on the right side as those of a boar (upper)

- and a fish (lower). He also observes “the head of a cow” in the upper portion of the back-plate.
53. Debala Mitra’s observation (cf. preceding note). According to T.P. Bhattacharya (1951: 62) the figure “possesses perhaps a bird’s head”. Also Prasad (1960-61: 141-142) sees “a bird-like figure”.
  54. For Viśvarūpa images with Ādityas, see e.g. (1-4) four images from Kanauj (cf. Maxwell 1988: 249-269, pls. 66-69); (5) from Bhuili (cf. Maxwell 1988: pl. 70); (6) from Gurgi, Madhya Pradesh (cf. Maxwell 1998: 61-62, pl. 2.2); (7) from Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh, now Jaipaul collection, Philadelphia (cf. Maxwell 1994: *passim*); (8) from Aghat, Etah, Uttar Pradesh, now Lucknow Museum, inv.no. G.112 (cf. Joshi 1989, 1: 206, no. 75, not ill.); (9) from Chandatala, Munshiganj District, now Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka (cf. Akram 1999: 470-474, pl. 36.3).
  55. From the published descriptions and photograph it appears that there are eleven Āditya figures holding a lotus in each of their two hands, or nine Ādityas with lotuses and two Rudras with tridents, surrounded by 24 human heads.
  56. Cf. Srinivasan 1988-89: 280; Srinivasan 1997: 141-145, 248-251.
  57. One of her two examples is an image from Mathura dating from the 4th century (cf. Srinivasan 1997: 248-252, pl. 18.15). The other is a large relief in Cave 3 at Badami, Karnataka, dating from the late 6th century (cf. Srinivasan 1988-89: fig. 6; Soundara Rajan 1958-60: 29-31, pl. 18a; Padigar 1996: 159, no. 20, pl. 16). One wonders why she does not consider a similar eight-armed, single-headed Viṣṇu in the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (cf. Soundara Rajan 1958-60: pl. 17b; Padigar 1996: 159, no. 21, pl. 17), and other South Indian eight-armed Viṣṇu images (e.g. Krishna Sastri 1916: fig. 11, and Padigar 1996: 159-160, no. 22). Donaldson (1987: 1362, fig. 3721; 2001: 32, figs. 69-70) has published two eight-armed, single-headed Viṣṇu images from Orissa, which, however, stand in *ābhāṅga*. For a ten-armed, single-headed Viṣṇu bronze from Nepal in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, standing in *samapada*, see Pal 1970: fig. 20; Bangdel 1987: 237, Abb. 176; Boston 1992: 183, fig. 175; Maxwell 1997: pl. 29; Pal 2004: 50, fig. 3-4.
  58. Inv.no. 27/155, Serial no. 54, acquired in 1970; kept in the storage collection; previously unpublished.
  59. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 94: 1-9 (cf. Markel 1995: 189-190) gives descriptions of all the Grahas. Markel (1995: 164) proposes “a date in the late sixth century for the passages under discussion on the basis of this highly developed imagery and because the planetary deities are grouped in the temporal order. [...] Thus, the *Matsyapurāṇa* is the first text that furnishes anthropomorphic descriptions of the planetary deities in the group known as the *navagraha*.<sup>10</sup> Some later texts, e.g. the *Mānasollāsa* of King Someśvara, Sūtradhāra-Maṇḍana’s *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*, the *Śilparatna* of Śrī Kumāra, the *Śilparatnakāra* by N.M. Somapura, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, and the *Bhubana-pradīpa* apparently borrowed their descriptions from the *Matsyapurāṇa* as they present similar descriptions; cf. the table given in Mitra 1965: 33-35.
  60. Cf. the textual descriptions found in the *Yavanajātaka*, *Brhajātaka*, *Laghujātaka*,

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9. Cf. Sotheby Parke Bernet 1979: lot 106; Mevissen 2008a: 126, fig. 2.
10. Bodhgaya Museum, inv.no. 5, height 76 cm; cf. Huntington 1984: 97, fig. 100.
11. Bodhgaya Museum, inv.no. 6, height 92 cm; cf. Huntington 1984: 97, fig. 101. For other fourarmed Viṣṇu sculptures from Bihar with similar features, see (1) Bautze-Picron 1985: 450, no. 36, pl. IIIb (National Museum, New Delhi); (2) *ibid.*, no. 38, pl. IVa (from Monghyr, now Patna Museum; = Gupta 1965: 68, no. 76); (3) *ibid.*, no. 39, pl. IVb (National Museum, New Delhi); (4) *ibid.*, no. 40, pl. Va (from Pachar, Dt. Gaya, now Patna Museum); (5) Taddei 1967: 20-22, cover photo and pls. on pp. 9, 10, 13, 21 (Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Roma (inv.no. 205); = Bautze-Picron 1985: 451, no. 47); (6) Krishna 1980: 96, pl. 25 (Madras Museum).
12. The sculpture has often been reported to be from Gaya, but its actual provenance is Konch, Gaya Dist., ca. 25 km northwest of Gaya (cf. Bautze-Picron 1987: 573). It is now in the Patna Museum (Arch 6047), height 79 cm. Cf. Martin 1838: pl. VII-4 (line drawing); Sinha 1958: fig. 98; Gupta 1965: 72, no. 96 (Gaya); Sinha 1974: pl. 67-ii (Gaya); Dwivedi 1979: 117 (not ill.); Huntington 1984: 94, fig. 99 (Gaya); Bautze-Picron 1987: 573, no. 74; 621, ill. 74 (line drawing); Akhouri 1988: 149, fig. 7; Bautze-Picron 1989: 278, no. 33 (not ill.); Srivastava 1995: 70, 109, pl. XL; Agarwal 1995: fig. 39; Akhtar 2001: 66, no. 96, pl. XXIX; Mevissen 2008a: 127, fig. 4 (detail).
13. Originally from the Viṣṇupada temple, Gaya, and at least until 1933 in the Suniti Kumar Chatterji Collection, Calcutta; size 48.3 x 30.5 cm. Cf. Banerji 1928: pl. LXVII.b; Chatterji 1930: 87-88, fig. 1; Banerji 1933: 114, pl. XCV.c; Sinha 1958: *citra* 98; Bautze-Picron 1987: 573, no. 73 (not ill.).
14. On the iconography of the planetary deities in general, see Markel 1995: 20-68, 183-194, and Vacherot 1999: 9-33; for Rāhu and Ketu, see Markel 1990; for Śani, see Mevissen 1997: 124-134, and Mevissen 2000a. For representations of Navagrahas from Bihar and Bengal, see Mitra 1965; Markel 1989: 136-138, 158-161, 263-266; Markel 1995: 106-107; Vacherot 1999: 60-69; Mevissen 2000b: 348-352; Mevissen 2001; Mevissen 2003: 449-450, 460-471; Mevissen 2008b.
15. Cf. Mevissen 2000a: 1270-71, fig. 2. For another one from Monghyr, now in the Patna Museum, see Markel 1989: 265-266, fig. 82.
16. Cf. Mevissen 1997: 124, 128, pl. 10.6.
17. Though not very common, the mode of representing the Grahas in reversed order can neither be regarded as a very rare feature, since quite a number of examples are known, both on independent stone slabs as well as on horizontal panels embellishing sculptures of different Hindu and Jaina deities. See e.g. (1) Markel 1995: 106, fig. 33; (2) Mevissen 2000a: 1270-1271, fig. 3; (3) Mevissen 2000b: 348, no. 5 (= 2008d: 445-447, diagram 38.2b, fig. 38.4); (4) *ibid.*: 361, no. 88 (with further references); (5) *ibid.*: 360-361, no. 92, fig. 10; (6) Mevissen 2002: 111-113, pl. 8.13 (= Bautze-Picron 1994: fig. 11); (7) Mevissen 2003: 463, no. 37, fig. 14; (8) *ibid.*: 464, no. 41, fig. 16 (= 2008b: 64, fig. 20, pl. 359); (9) *ibid.*: 466, no. 47 (= Rahman 1998: 320, no. 779, pl. 301); (10) *ibid.*: 469, no. 58 (= Bhattacharya 1993: 86-87, fig. 9; = 2000: 306, pl. 29.6); (11) *ibid.*: 471-472, no. 64, fig. 27.

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18. For Aṣṭagrahas above a Pārvatī image from Bihar, see Asher 1980: 72, pl. 121; Mevissen 2003: 447, no. 1. For Aṣṭagrahas on four Jina images from Bihar, see Mevissen 2000b: 348, nos. 1-4 (with further references).
19. *Manusmṛti* 5.96, 5.97, 7.4, 7.7, 9.303-311. Cf. Banerji 1956: 520; Bhattacharya 1987: 67 (= Bhattacharya 2000: 210); Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 16. The *Manusmṛti* dates from a period between ca. 200 BC and 200 AD.
20. Patna Museum, inv.no. Arch 11324, provenance unknown. Cf. Dwivedi 1979: 114-115 (not ill.; identified as Aṣṭagrahas); Bautze-Picron 1998: 97, n. 72 (not ill.); Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 89-90, ill. 31 (6th row), fig. 312; Mevissen 2008a: 129, fig. 6.
21. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, inv.no. MIK I 672, size 15 x 54.5 x 7 cm. Cf. Bhattacharya 1987: 63-64, fig. 1 (= 2000: 205-207, 564, pl. 18.1); Bhattacharya 1993: 85, fig. 2 (= 2000: 304, 564, pl. 18.1); Bautze-Picron 1998: 85-86, pl. 238; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 89-90, ill. 31 (5th row), fig. 311; Wessels-Mevissen 2002: 112, 120, Abb. 15.
22. Another complete panel of eight Lokapālas has been reported from Chechar, Vaishali (or Muzaffapur) District. It depicts the deities in reversed order, i.e. Sūrya is shown at the end of the sequence. Cf. Kumar 1979: *passim* (not ill.); Kumar 1986: 68-69, pl. VII.3 (on p. 69 erroneously referred to as pl. VIII.3); Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 89, ill. 31 (1st row), (not ill.).
23. Patna Museum, inv.no. Arch 11265. Cf. Bhattacharya 1993: 85, fig. 3 (= 2000: 304-305, 591, pl. 29.2); Bautze-Picron 1998: 97, n. 72 (not ill.); Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 89-90, ill. 31 (7th row), (not ill.).
24. Or Aurangabad District; Bodhgaya Museum, inv.no. 208. Cf. Bhattacharya 1987: 67, fig. 4 (= 2000: 210, 565, pl. 18.4); Bhattacharya 1993: 85, not ill. (= 2000: 304-305, not ill.); Bautze-Picron 1998: 97, n. 72 (not ill.); Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 89, ill. 31 (8th row; Kubera and Yama erroneously indicated in reverse order), fig. 313; Mevissen 2008a: 129-130, fig. 7.
25. According to Sahai 1970: 709-710, 'The panel, firmly embedded in the wall to the right side of the doorway leading to the courtyard of the temple, is about 9 inches in height and 1 foot and 8 inches in length' [ca. 22.9 x 50.8 cm]. Cf. Sahai 1970: *passim* & plate; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 89, ill. 31 (2nd row), (not ill.); Mevissen 2008a: 130, fig. 8.
26. Preserved in the modern Sūrya Temple, Badgaon, ca. 10th century. Cf. Bhattacharya 1987: 67-68, fig. 5 (= 2000: 210-211, 565, pl. 18.5); Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 84, 89, ill. 31 (not ill.); Mevissen 2008a: 130-131, fig. 9 (detail).
27. For Śiva-Vivāha sculptures with Lokapālas from other parts of North India, see (1) Private Collection, Kanauj (cf. Bajpai 1953: pl. XXIII, fig. 47; Goswami 1956: pl. 15; Vājpeyi 1957: pl. 16; Sivaramamurti 1961: 99-100, pl. 34; Agrawala 1966: 61, pl. XI; Mukhopadhyay 1967-68: 4-7, pl. I, fig. 1; Mukhopadhyay 1969: *passim* (not ill.); Singh 1977: fig. 15; Mukhopadhyay 1984: fig. 29; Bhattacharya 1987: 70, n. 38 [not ill.] [= 2000: 214, n. 38]; Avasthā 1993: *citra* 1; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 83-84, fig. 301); (2) from Mansiganga, now Mathura Museum (inv.no. 87.8.4), ht. 78 cm (cf. Avasthā 1993: *citra* 4; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 83-84, fig. 304; Kumar 2002: no. 40, figs. [40.1, 40.2]); (3) from Mathura, now Indian Museum, Kolkata (cf. Mukhopadhyay 1967-68: 7-8, pl. II, fig. 3; Basu 1970: pl. VI; Chakrabarti 1994: fig. IV; Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 83-84, fig. 305); (4) from

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*Bṛhatpārāśarahorā, Sārāvalī, Matsyapurāṇa, Agnipurāṇa, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Nāradapurāṇa, and Skandapurāṇa*, listed by Markel (1995: 183-194).

61. Cf. Mevissen 2004.
62. In Mevissen 2004: 139-141, nos. S1-S9, C1-C2 and C15, I have listed nine Sūryamandalas and three Candramandalas belonging to this category. All are stone sculptures.
63. National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu, size 75 x 56 x 28 cm, ca. 14th/15th century. Cf. Mevissen 2004: 122-123, 139, no. S1, pl. 17.1; Mevissen 2006a: 13, 39, no. # 65, pl. 44.
64. Another Sūryamandala surrounded by Grahas with small seated figures of Daṇḍin and Piygala at the bottom can still be seen in Purano Bhansar, Ombahal Tol, Kathmandu; size 74 x 56 cm, ca. 14th/15th century; both attendant figures are now considerably damaged. Cf. Slusser 1982: pl. 438; Slusser & Fuller 1987: 87, fig. 31 (= 2005: 666, fig. 31); Bangdel 1987: 168, Abb. 120; Bangdel 1995: 172, sec. 37.2; Mevissen 2004: 123, 139, no. S2, pl. 17.2; Vergati 2005: 122, fig. 64; Mevissen 2006a: 13, 39, no. # 66, pl. 45. Two more Sūrya sculptures from Patan without Grahas are accompanied by Daṇḍin and Pingala. One is dated by an inscription to 1065 AD; it is now in the Patan Museum, inv.no. SS 526, ht. 77.2 cm; cf. Pal & Bhattacharyya 1969: 19, fig. 2; Pal 1974: 37, 142-144, fig. 28; Bangdel 1987: 163, Abb. 114; Bangdel 1995: 215, sec. 2.7; Slusser 2002: 114 (ill.). The other one, dated to 1083 AD, was stolen in 1985 from Saugal Tol, Patan; cf. Tchekhoff 1980: 99 (ill.); Bangdel 1989: 61-64, pls. 10-13 (with further references); Schick 1998: 72, pls. 23-24. In both sculptures Sūrya wears a *dhoti* and an *udarabandha*, and neither the chariot nor Aruṇa have been depicted, which are features of south Indian Sūrya representations.
65. National Art Gallery, Bhaktapur, size 66 x 41 cm (Bangdel) or 76 x 44 cm (Amatya). Cf. Bangdel 1987: 153-154 & drawing ("1469"); Bangdel 1995: 327, sec. 24.4 ("A.D. 1462"); Amatya 1996: 116, no. 14, 128, pl. 14 ("NS 589 (1468 A.D.)"); Mevissen 2004: 125, 139, no. S10, pl. 17.10; Mevissen 2006a: 13, 39, no. # 72, pl. 51.
66. For *nāga* figures in the pedestal of Sūrya images from Bengal, see Mevissen in press: figs. 3-5.
67. For a similar scene see, e.g., the Sūrya image from Pashupatinath illustrated in Bangdel 1987: 169, Abb. 121.
68. Formerly *in situ* at Patan, Saugal Tol, now in the William T. Price collection, USA, size 56 x 37.5 x 10 cm, dated NS 549 = 1429 AD. Cf. Miśra 1972: pl. 2.ka; Sotheby's 1987: no. 140; Rao 1997: 28, pl. 25; Mevissen 2004: 131, 140, no. C4, pl. 17.20; Srivastava & Wahal 2005-06: *passim*, pl. 51; Thaplyal & Wahal 2005-06: *passim*, pl. 52; Mevissen 2006a: 14, 42 no. # 77, 53 diagram G-9, pl. 56.
69. From Saugal Tol, now Patan Museum (inv.no. SS 335), size 55 x 41 cm, dated NS 547 = 1426 AD. Cf. Miśra 1972: pl. 2.kha; Amatya 1996: 115 no. 11, 127 pl. 11 ("NS. 457 (1336 A.D.)"); Slusser 2002: 115, col.pl.; Mevissen 2004: 131, 140, no. C3, pl. 17.19; Mevissen 2006a: 14, 42 no. # 76, 53 diagram G-9, pl. 55.
70. In Mevissen 2004: 139-140, nos. S12-S15 and C5, I have listed four Sūryamandalas and one Candramandala belonging to this category. All are metal sculptures.
71. Present location unknown, ht. 27.9 cm, ca. 16th/17th century. Cf. Christie's 1990: lot 166;

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- Sotheby's 1994: lot 97; Mevissen 1997: 129, pl. 10.8; Sotheby's 2001: lot 94; Mevissen 2004: 127, 139, no. S14, pl. 17.14.
72. Present location unknown, ht. 24.5 or 25.4 cm, ca. 15th/16th century. Cf. Sotheby's 1977: lot 157; Lempertz 1978: 111, Los 889, Tafel 27(1); Mevissen 1997: 130, pl. 10.9; Mevissen 2004: 131, 140, no. C5, pl. 17.21.
73. Present location unknown, formerly in the Zimmerman collection, New York, size 92.1 x 53.3 cm, dated 1370(?) or 1379(?) AD. Cf. Pal 1978: 75-76, fig. 82 ("ca. 1400"); Pal 1991: 70-71, 192, col.pl. 33 ("1379?"); Pal 1992: fig. 4 ("1370-9"); Leidy/Thurman 1997: 75, 146, no. 14 ("about 1379"), col.pls.; Mevissen 2004: 127-128, 139-140, no. S16 (not ill.); *Orientations* (Hong Kong) 38/4 (May 2007): col.pl. on p. 2 (Advertisement Carlton Rochell); Rochell 2007: no. 46, col.pl.
74. Private collection, Netherlands, dated NS 657 = 1537 AD. Cf. Van der Wee [1995]: 138-141, fig. 65; Mevissen 2004: 128, 140, no. S17 (not ill.).
75. The third painted Sūryamandala of this category is in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin (inv.no. MIK I 10013), size 102 x 77.5 cm; ca. 17th century. For references see Mevissen 2004: 128-129, 140, no. S18, pl. 17.16. There might be a fourth one of ca. 19th century (see Sotheby's 1979: lot 72), which shows a multi-armed Sūrya in the centre surrounded by 12 ḍityas and 8 Grahas(?).
76. So far thirteen painted Buddhist Candramandalas have come to light. Twelve of them have been listed in Mevissen 2004: 140-141, nos. C6-C14, C16-C18. For the thirteenth see below, **Fig. 25**.
77. Zimmerman Collection, New York, size 53.3 x 43 cm, dated NS 536 or 546 or 576 = 1416 or 1426 or 1456 AD. Cf. Pal 1978: fig. 81 ("1426"); Rawson 1978: 148, fig. 123 ("16th cent."); Bangdel 1987: 324, Abb. 252 ("1416"); Pal 1991: 72-73, col.pl. 35 ("ca. 1450"); Alsop in Pal 1991, App. I, p. 192 ("1456?"); Pal 1992: 39, fig. 5 ("ca. 1450"); Mevissen 2004: 132, 140, no. C6 (not ill.).
78. Zimmerman Collection, New York, size 61 x 48.3 cm, ca. 3rd quarter of 16th century. Cf. Pal 1978: fig. 104; Reynolds 1986: fig. 10; Pal 1991: 76-78, col.pl. 39; Mevissen 2004: 133, 140, no. C11 (not ill.).
79. Present location unknown, size 51.7 x 46.4 cm, ca. 15th/16th century. Cf. Sotheby Parke Bernet 1980: lot 61.
80. Present location unknown, formerly in the Jucker Collection, Basel, Switzerland, size 55 x 35 cm, second half of 15th century(?). Cf. Kreijger 1999: 40-41, col.pl. 7[a,b]; Mevissen 2004: 132, 140, no. C8 (not ill.); Sotheby's 2006: lot 4.
81. Present location unknown, formerly in the Jucker Collection, Basel (inv.no. 425), size 62 x 53 cm, ca. 15th century. Cf. Jünemann 1989: col.pl. May; Kreijger 1999: 34-35, col.pl. 4; Kreijger 1999a: 102-104, figs. 3, 3a; apparently the same painting is described in Lokesh Chandra 1996: 46-47 (not ill.); Mevissen 2004: 133-134, 141, no. C16 (not ill.); Sotheby's 2006: lot 3.
82. National Art Gallery, Bhaktapur, size 107 x 58 cm, dated NS 589 = 1468 AD. Cf. Bangdel 1987: 166, Abb. 118; Bangdel 1995: 327, sec. 24.3; Mevissen 2004: 133, 141, no. C15, pl. 17.23.

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83. Present location unknown, formerly in the Jucker Collection, Basel, size 93 x 65 cm, 18th or 19th century. Cf. Kreijger 1999: 56-57, no. 15; Mevissen 2004: 134, 141, no. C17 (not ill.); Sotheby's 2006: lot 13.
84. Present location unknown, size 94.6 x 65.1 cm, 18th or 19th century. Cf. Sotheby's 1997: lot 31; Mevissen 2004: 134, 141, no. C18, pl. 17.24.
85. Ford Collection, USA, size 48.3 x 41.3 cm, ca. 16th century. Cf. Sotheby Parke Bernet 1980: lot 53A; Ray 1986: 202, 204, col.pl. 16; Pal 2001: 220-221, no. 128, col.pl.; Mevissen 2004: 129, 140, no. S19 (not ill.); Timalsina 2004: 28-30, col.pl. 4.

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## A Note on the Vālgūdar Image Inscription of Dharmapāladeva

NOOR BANO SATTAR

During the Pāla-Sena rule of Bihar-Bengal (c. 8th century–13th century A.D.) a large number of inscribed images both in stone and metal were dedicated by the devotees of this area mainly to acquire religious merit and happiness of all sentient beings. Such acts of donation were recorded on the sculptures either on the stele, very often in the pedestal, back or on the sides of the images. The dated sculptures bearing a dedicatory passage mentions the regnal year of a particular ruler during whose reign the image was consecrated and installed, the name of the male or female donor belonging to different socio-economic status, and in a few cases some meteorological and astronomical information are given. For the socio-economic and religious character of the early medieval and medieval period of Bihar-Bengal these dedicatory passages are no doubt important. Also important is the study of the paleographical development of these records highlighting the orthographical peculiarities for about four hundred years if not more. The present paper is an attempt to study an inscribed sculpture of the reign of Dharmapāladeva mainly concentrating on the epigraphic and paleographic aspects of the sculpture concerned.

The Vālgūdar image inscription of Dharmapāladeva is an undated<sup>1</sup> pedestal inscription in stone. The image in question is lost. The stone pedestal was found lying in the house of one Babu Kesav Sinha and was being used by the people as a platform for washing their feet until it was discovered by D.C. Sircar on his visit to a village named Vālgūdar, South Bihar on the 9th January, 1950. The inscription was first published by Sircar in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, 1949-50. It contains two lines covering a space 17.5" in length and 2.4" in height. The *aksharas* are about .5" in height, and the conjuncts with vowel marks are sometimes double that height<sup>2</sup>.

**Detail:** Madhuśrenikah, may be a local or a rural deity.

**Material:** Stone

**Provenance:** Vālgūdar, Monghyr Dt; Bihar

**Present Whereabouts:** Unknown

**Language:** Sanskrit prose, with some mistakes and signs of Prakrit influence<sup>3</sup>. The second line of the record lacks in the Pāṇinian form of Sanskrit grammar.

**Script:** Mixed script. Post-Gupta Brāhmī or Kuṭila in case of the letter *Kr*. Siddhamāṭrka influence is noticed in case of *dha*, *pa*, *a*.\*

**Approximate dating:** No image has been found, so iconographical and stylistic study cannot

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\* The author is solely responsible for this view.—editor

be dwelt on. But since the record refers to the reigning monarch Dharmapāla, we may place the period of the inscription between the late 8th and early 9th centuries A.D.



Photo Courtesy : *Epigraphia Indica*

**Reading 1:** Sircar, D.C. ‘‘Three Inscriptions From Vālgūdar’’, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, 1949-50, pp.137-145

**Text:** 1. *Siddham[!]\* śrī- Dharmapāladēva-rājye Krimil-ādhishṭhānē Madhuśrenīka [ḥ]*  
2. *Sālo-dharmrapatnī- Ajhukēna dēva-dharmmo=yam Kāritah* ||

**Translation:** Let there be success! (The god) Madhuśrenīka (is installed) at the city of Krimila during the reign of illustrious Dharmapāladeva; this meritorious gift (i.e., the image) is caused to be made by Ajhuka who is the wife of Sālo.

**Orthography:** According to D.C. Sircar, the orthography closely resembles the epigraphic records of the Pālas and hardly anything in them calls for special mention.

**Reading 2:** Choudhary, R.K. *Select Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1958, p.35

**Text:** 1. *Siddham || śrī- Dharmapāladēva-rājye Krimilādhishṭhānē Madhuśrenīka [ḥ] ||*  
2. *Sālo-dharmapatnya-Jhukēna dēva dharmmayam Kāritah* ||<sup>4</sup>

**Translation:** Let there be success! (The god) Madhuśrenīka (is installed) at the city of Krimila during the reign of illustrious Dharmapāladeva; this meritorious gift (i.e., the image) is caused to be made by Jhukēna who is the wife of Sālo.<sup>5</sup>

Orthographical mistake is noticed in the reading given by R. K. Choudhary. In the second line of the text, there is an evidence of euphonic combination between the two letters *i* and *a* in the words *dharma patni* and *ajhukena*. Otherwise, the orthography is standard.

**Variant reading and variations found:** Two different readings of this epigraphic record are stated above. The variation is found in the context of two expressions: *dēvadharma moyam* and *Kāritah* D. C. Sircar gives the reading of the term as *dēvadharma moyam*, while R. K. Choudhary reads *dēvadhammayam*, which bear an orthographical error. Again, the

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reading of the expression *Kāritāḥ* as given by Choudhary is not free from mistake. *Kāritāḥ* as read by Sircar is a correct reading as Ajhukena is in the third case ending singular number and is used in the passive voice. Moreover, the object, which is the image, is in the singular number.

#### Remarks:

The inscription on the pedestal says that a god named Madhuśrenikah was installed at the adhishthāna or city of Kṛimilā during the reign of king Dharmapāla by the lady Ajhuka who was the wedded wife of a person named Sālo. Sircar thinks that if the *visarga* in the term Madhuśrenikah is ignored, that expression may be taken as an adjective of the personal name Sālo. He further says that if in any case this alternative is preferred, it may be assumed that the name of the deity installed by Sālo's wife is not mentioned in the record. If we take into consideration the first alternative as suggested by Sircar, the translation of the record stands as (a god was installed at the city of Kṛimilā during the reign of the king Dharmapāla by Ajhuka, the wife of Madhuśrenikah Sālo). But it is difficult to understand the meaning of the expression Madhuśrenikah. The expression Madhusrenikah, if used either as an epithet of the donor's husband as suggested by Bhattacharya<sup>6</sup> or as an adjective of the personal name Sālo as suggested by Sircar, belongs to a different genre. Since the *visarga* of the term Madhusrenikah is quite legible, we cannot ignore it. So in this context we may use the expression as a name of a rural deity of the region, instead as a personal name of Sālo. The deity invoked by the donor's family can hardly be accommodated within the standard Brahmanical or Buddhist pantheon. We should also mention in this connection that the name of the donor as Ajhuka is clearly of non-Sanskritic affiliation.

Further, this undated epigraphic record belonging to the reigning period of Dharmapāla, whose reign is assigned to C.770-810 A.D., does not refer to any regnal year. However it is an important geo-historical document. The chief interest of the inscription lies in the mention of the city of Kṛimilā where the image is said to have been installed. The present record throws interesting light on the location and identification of the ancient city of Kṛimilā and of the Kṛimilā *viṣaya*. It is very interesting to note that the same city is also mentioned in several other inscriptions of historical importance<sup>7</sup>. The discovery of the pedestal from Vālgūdar in the western fringe of the Monghyr district of Bihar stands on the site of the city of Kṛimilā famous in the days of the Pālas. This city was the headquarters of the *viṣaya* or district of the same name as Kṛimilā *viṣaya* forming a part of the Śrinagara bhukti that formed a part of the Pāla dominions<sup>8</sup>. Thus we may add in this connection that South Bihar region with an administrative headquarter was under the political domain of Dharmapāladeva.

The Vālgūdar image inscription of the reign of the Pāla king Dharmapāla is also

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remarkable from the social point of view. The donor of the image, who performed the sacred act of image consecration, happens to be a woman named Ajhuka who is mentioned in association with her husband. This may be taken as an indication of the high status given to a woman in the contemporary society. On the other hand, the social position of the donor is not mentioned. The religious affiliation of the donor in this context is also difficult to determine. If Madhusrenikah is considered to be a rural deity, then we may surmise that the deity must have enjoyed great popularity amongst the people of the region in the early medieval period.

### **Further Reading:**

- Choudhary, R.K., *Select Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1958.
- Huntington, Susan L., *The Pāla-Sena Schools of Sculpture*. Leiden. 1984, Appendix No. 6, p. 206.
- Sahai, B., *The Inscriptions of Bihar*. Delhi. 1983, No. 75, p. 69.
- Sengupta, Gautam, 'Donors of Images in Eastern India (C.800-1300 A.D.)', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Kurukshtera) 43, 1982 158-164.
- Sircar, D.C., "Three Inscriptions from Vālgudar", *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, Vol. 28, 1949-50, pp. 137-145 and plate.
- Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi. 1960, Chapter XIV Kṛmilā, pp. 193-197.
- Pāl-Sen Yuger Varnśānucharit* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1982.

### **Notes and Reference:**

1. Huntington referred to this undated piece as a dated sculpture from the reign of Dharmapāla in the Chapter 'Dated Sculptures'. See p.40.
2. Sircar, D.C., "Three Inscriptions from Vālgudar", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 28, 1949-50, pp. 137-145.
3. Ibid., p. 139
4. Romanized transliteration is ours, based on the reading in Devanāgarī script provided by R.K. Choudhary 1958, p. 35.
5. Translation of the text is ours , based on the reading provided by R.K. Choudhary 1958, p. 35.
6. Bhattacharya, G, *Essays on Buddhist Hindu Jaina Iconography and Epigraphy*, ed. Enamul Haque. Dhaka (Studies in Bengal Art Series No-1), 2000, p. 144, fn 4.
7. Sircar D.C., "The Ancient City and District of Kṛmilā," *IHQ*, XXVI, 12, 1950, pp. 138-141.
8. Sircar D.C., *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 28, 1949-50, p. 140

## Two Recently Found Images from Dakshin Dinajpur

RANJUSRI GHOSH

The two images discussed here are found in Balurghat, headquarter of the Dakshin Dinajpur district of West Bengal. Both draw our attention for their unusual features. The exact find spots of the images, however, remain untraced.

The first image (**Plate-XVI, Fig. 1**) is now in display in the Dakshin Dinajpur District Museum (No. 26). It was brought from the treasury of Gangarampur police station. But the find spot has not been recorded. The famous archaeological site of Bangarh falls under this police station. The area around Bangarh has yielded a good number of *śaiva* images. The image of the eight-armed *devī* under study is a unique piece as there is no second example of the image in Bengal, though we have examples of several eight-armed figures of the *devī*. The upper right part of the sculpture is broken. The stone is black and its size is 39" x 19.5". The minor damages in the figure of the goddess and her attendant do not create any difficulty in appreciating the charm of the neatly carved out image. All her weapons are discernible. The trident is mutilated at the top. The sword has broken away with the right upper slab. The goddess is seen standing in *samapadasthānaka* on a lotus flanked by two lady attendants standing in *tribhanga* posture holding a *cāmara*. One flying *gandharva* with a garland is visible in the upper left slab. The facial expression of the goddess is calm and serene. Her eyes are half closed. On her forehead a round mark within an elongated triangle is visible. The lion, her mount, is carved in the recess between two projections of the pedestal. To the right of the lion are two sitting figures (one damaged) of a devotee couple. The female devotee who is fashioned with a veil round her head is intact. To the further right is a fire altar. The left side of the pedestal is represented by a single fire altar. The head of the goddess is within two thick lines of an oval shaped *prabhāvalī*. Of the eight hands the two main are placed on her belly. This feature actually sets it apart from all other examples of eight-armed images of the *devī*.<sup>\*</sup> Of the remaining six arms the lower right is in *varada mudrā* resting on a lotus. The middle right hand holds a sword while the upper right is drawing out a *śara* from the quiver on her back. The upper left hand holds a trident, the middle a shield, and the lower a bow. She wears all the usual ornaments and a *jaṭāmukuta* with a tiara. A few *jaṭās* are lying on her shoulders. She sports an *upavīta*. The *sārī* with neat folds hangs up to the ankle. It is tied with an ornamented girdle at the waist. A transparent and narrow *uttariya* wraps the upper part of the body. All the features of this goddess undoubtedly represent

\*Editor's note: In iconography this particular *mudrā* is called *latā mudrā*. For details, see Fredrick W. Bunce, *Mudrās in Buddhist and Hindu Practices—An Iconographic Consideration*, New Delhi: D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 2005, Fig. 312, p. 128.

her as *devī siūhavāhini*. However, the two main hands resting on the belly area bit shrunken, perhaps indicating the long course of her severe austerity for Śiva when she refrained herself from taking even a leaf (for which she is also known as *Aparṇā*).<sup>1</sup> The image is free from heavy ornamentation. The simplicity of the slab increases the charm of the *devī* at the centre. Taking the stylistic features into account the image can be dated to the tenth century.

The second image (**Plate-XVI, Fig. 2**) was first observed by the author in 2004 in Balurghat police station. As attempts of taking a satisfactory photograph of the image had failed on that occasion, she revisited the place in 2008. It is kept in a glass case in the officer-in-charge's room of Balurghat police station. The goddess is worshipped every day by a priest though he does not know who the goddess is. Eager to know the goddess's identity, the officer-in-charge requested the author to identify the image. Unable to identify the image from textual sources, the author decided to provide a descriptive account of the image in this paper with the hope of getting necessary feedback from eminent scholars of iconography.

The well-preserved image in black stone unquestionably represents another form of the *devī*. Its size is 59cm x 32cm. The *devī* in sitting posture has six hands. She also wears *jaṭamukuta* with a tiara. *Jaṭas* are found dangling on both shoulders like the first image of the *devī*. Her eyes are also half closed. The third eye is prominent beneath a gold *bindi* (it seems to be a later addition) on the forehead. The two attributes she bears are commonly found in the *ugra* forms of the *devī*. One is *kapāla* in the main left hand and the other is a *nṛmundā* garland. The *nṛmundā* hanging at the centre is situated in the middle of two open palms stretching out at either side (Illustration 1 of **Plate-XVI, Fig. 2**). There is a round mark on each palm. She wears a *śārī* tied by a broad *kaṭisūtra* at the waist. A thin cloth wraps the upper part of the body leaving most of it bare. Garments and ornaments are fashioned in the same way in both the images of the *devī*. She is adorned with *upavīta*, *hāra*, *kundala*, *valaya*, *keyūra*, etc. The two left hands are holding a *nāgapāśa* (Illustration 2 of **Plate-XVI, Fig. 2**) and a bow. Of the right hands, the normal is in *abhaya mudrā*, and the other two holds an *ankuṣa* and a *gadā*-like weapon.

The most striking feature in the image is the lying male figure (Illustration 3 of **Plate-XVI, Fig. 3**) with his left hand under the head and the right hand stretched along the right leg touching the right hip and thigh with two fingers. The left leg is raised upward while its fingers press upon the upturned heel of the right leg. His eyes are closed and the facial expression is calm. He is almost bare with only a girdle around the waist. This figure does not represent the usual features of *preta*. On the contrary it is very attractive like any *saumya* form of Śiva. On the forehead a half moon is carved out. *Jatās* are raised up from the back of his head and fall on the shoulders. A snake rounds his neck with its hood peeping from behind the *jaṭā* above. He may be *Mahākāla* who is not corpulent but has pleasing features and upon whom we sometimes see a dancing *Cāmūndā*.<sup>2</sup>

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The image under discussion calls to mind the image of another unidentified six-armed goddess housed in the Mahasthan Museum (**Plate-XVI, Fig. 3**).<sup>3</sup> This much damaged image is carved in sandstone and perhaps belongs to an earlier time. The comparison between the two images naturally comes to mind because of the identical sitting posture, facial expression and attributes. Although only two attributes are visible in the Mahasthan figure, they are significant. The main left hand holds a *kapāla* in the same manner as we see in the image under discussion. However, while the lower left hand in the Balurghat image is in *abhaya mudrā*, the lower left hand in the Mahasthan image is in *varada mudrā*. But here also we see a combination of both *ugra* and *saumya* aspects in the image of the *devī*. Her face with half closed eyes also expresses calmness. Ornaments and dresses are fashioned in the same manner. The male figure, however, does not resemble the one in the Balurghat image. He has a big belly, wears a *jaṭamukuta*, and lies naked on the same lotus seat as the *devī*'s. Such figures, generally accepted as *preta*, are identified with Śiva. In spite of differences it appears that the same idea of the *devī* lies behind the creation of both the images. The goddess in both images may be a representation of *Mahākālī*. In the *Tantrasāra* the seat of *Mahākālī* is said to be the great ghost *Sadāśiva*.<sup>4</sup> Our image (Figure 2), a creation of not earlier than the twelfth century, however, is much more refined revealing artistic skill of a high order.<sup>5</sup>

### Notes and References

1. *Kālikāpurāna*, (ed.) Panchanan Tarkaratna (Navabharat Publishers), 43, 34-41.
2. Almost a similar lying figure fashioned with the same type of *jaṭā* under a sitting Cāmuṇḍā came to my notice in a recently published article: Ibrahim Shah, 'Some Devī Images of the Pāla-Sena period in the National Museum, Karachi', *Journal of Bengal Art*, Vols. 11-12, ICSBA, 2006-2007, p. 203-214, pl. 18.2.
3. E. Haque and A. J. Gail (ed.), *Sculptures in Bangladesh, An Inventory of Select Hindu, Buddhist and Jain Stone and Bronze Images in Museums and Collections of Bangladesh (Up to the 13th Century)*, (The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art), 2008, Dhaka, Bangladesh, pp. 261, pl. 457.
4. Pratapaditya. Pal, *Hindu Religion and Iconography: According to the Tantrasāra* (Vichitra Press, Los Angeles), 1981, p. 66.
5. This author came to know about another image of this type in the reserve collection of the Indian Museum from Gerd J. R. Mevissen. So this type is not unique but rare.

## **Geo-polity in Early Mediaeval Bengal under the Sena Rule: Rereading Epigraphic Sources**

**RAJAT SANYAL**

Researches in the historical processes of the early middle age in the subcontinent, ranging roughly between c. AD sixth-seventh and the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, have gained a distinct status in the general corpus of researches on pre-modern India, particularly since the middle of the preceding century. There exist in consequence, in the extant historiography on early mediaeval India, a number of different schools of thought having essentially varying explications of the historical realities of the period that might have led to the genesis of such processes.<sup>1</sup> Quantitatively, the most widely used source material in dealing with the early mediaeval problems have been the large number of land transfer records in the form of copperplate inscriptions issued towards benefactions like individual Brāhmaṇas or Buddhist/Jain institutions and thereby fostering an unprecedented expansion of arable rural landscape under the direct intervention of various local power structures.

Like many of the other parts of the subcontinent, the historically defined ‘Bengal Delta’—comprising the present Indian State of West Bengal and the independent Republic of Bangladesh—also witnessed a steady and continuous growth of a number of regional and sub-regional centres of power, as evidenced in the available bulk of epigraphic documents from the region. Nearly one hundred inscribed objects in the form of copperplates and copper vases so far discovered from this territory, and used extensively by historians in understanding different aspects of early history of the region, bear vivid testimony to the historical processes of the region between AD sixth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Considering the gamut of land transfer charters of early-early mediaeval Bengal in totality, it is not altogether inconvenient to broadly classify these documents in terms of the dynastic chronology of the region, in spite of a sharp inconsistency in the pattern of their occurrence in terms of both geography and chronology. These records fall, on that score, into the following groups:<sup>3</sup>

- Inscriptions of the Gupta kings of c. AD fifth-sixth centuries ruling in northern and southeastern Bengal.
- Epigraphs of a number of local sovereigns of the post-Gupta period (like Gopacandra, Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva) dominating parts of southern sectors of eastern Bengal and areas around central-western Bengal in AD sixth century.

Inscriptions of the regional ruling authorities of AD seventh-eighth centuries like Śaśanka (whose control was recognized in the territories of modern southwestern West Bengal), Jayanāga (having his headquarter at Karnasuvardhana to the west of

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the Bhagirathi) and a number of local dynasties of eastern and southeastern Bengal like those of the Nātha, Rāta, Khadga and Deva kings.

- The epigraphs of the so-called ‘Pāla’ group, drafted between AD eighth and the twelfth centuries in different segments of north Bengal, consisting again of a number of inscriptions of local lineages ruling in different geographical sectors of Bengal, viz. the Candra, Varman, Kamboja, Ghosa and the Deva.
- And finally the group of twelve copperplates of the Sena kings, their distribution covering almost all the geographical terrains of Bengal, besides a limited number of inscriptions of their near-contemporaries/ feudatories like the Deva and Pāla rulers of southeastern and southwestern Bengal respectively.

It is actually a fraction of the last group of inscriptions, i.e. those of the Sena rulers, which form the basic agenda of discussion of the present paper. An attempt will be made in the following, in the light of reconsideration of certain representations of the names and locations of administrative divisions or settlements and some related evidences, to underline the nature of regional geo-polity in Bengal in AD twelfth-thirteenth centuries and to situate such local developments in the broader network of early mediaeval administrative polity of eastern India in general.

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As just stated, twelve copperplate inscriptions of the Sena kings have so far been discovered from all the four geographical-cultural regions of Bengal (Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> All of these inscriptions are composed, like most of the early mediaeval epigraphic records of the region, in a combined format involving verse and prose. The general sequence is that of verse-prose-verse, leaving the initial lines of adoration and the concluding lines recording the date of issue and the royal endorsement, which are always in prose. The uniform and physically homogeneous morphology found in all the Sena copperplates may be summarized in the following sequence:

- A. The initial dedicatory/invocative sentence eulogizing the guardian deity of the concerned ruling king (invariably Śiva for all the Sena plates).
- B. Verses recording a detailed genealogy of the ruling king with gorgeous (and at times highly exaggerated) statements on political career of different kings, of course with an over-emphasis on those of the ruling king.
- C. The prose segment of the record is then followed, containing all the details of the grant's of lands; this segment consists of the following three sections:
  - The name of the ‘camp of victory’, i.e. the administrative headquarter from where the grant is issued.
  - The general address of the donor to the bureaucracy and the benefaction including the rural residents who assembled at the occasion of the grant.

- The details of the alienated land, with unprecedented exactitude on the minutest details of measurements of the granted plot/s and measuring instruments used for their appropriation, along with the boundaries of the granted plot in many cases.
  - The location of the granted land in the general hierarchy of local political administration, invariably in descending order of spatial limits of each tier.
  - The name, religious school and the caste-and-clan affiliation of the benefaction.
- D. The last segment of these epigraphs is again in verse and comprises—
- The mandatory verses of imprecation and benediction.
  - Details regarding the date of issue always in terms of the ruling year of the reigning king.
  - And (usually) the names of the scribe and the engraver.

Variations in the processes and patterns of declaration and subsequent registration of legal transactions in any historical context are expected to result from differential modes of administrative practices under varying spatio-temporal authorities. But the copperplate inscriptions of Sena rulers who politically consolidated the largest part of Bengal in the early mediaeval period between the middle of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth centuries stand out in more than one significant respects, as it will be shortly demonstrated, when compared to their preceding or near-contemporary counterparts. A careful scrutiny of the physical constitution of these plates, as schematically summarized in the foregoing, will readily bring home the uniqueness of some of their contents and the patterns of representation of such features. Firstly, for reasons unknown, the composers of the Sena plates traced the genealogy of the ruling king invariably down to the three previous generations and not beyond that in any case. Secondly, the address of the king to the royal officers and other dignitaries include the *rājñī* (i.e. the queen). Finally, the following three points in the grant portion of these documents are noteworthy:

- These inscriptions attract immediate attention because of their ‘unprecedented precision’ and contentment about the measurement system of land and the usage of numerous measuring rods for the purpose.<sup>5</sup>
- A section of this set of inscriptions refer to some administrative divisions that either appear for the first time in Bengal inscriptions or convey—when interpreted in terms of contemporary perceptions of representing politico-administrative locales—altogether new and quite significant connotations.
- In some of the later Sena inscriptions, names of certain *jayaskandhāvāra* (i.e. administrative headquarter) having *grāma* name-ending appear, for the first time in the history of the delta and here again, the pattern of representation of the names of these places is essentially exceptional.

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If one takes a cursory look at the copperplate inscriptions of the Sena period, out of the twelve charters one each were drafted during the reign of Vijayasena and Vallālasena, seven during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena and the remaining three in that of his sons Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena (see Appendix for all details). A re-examination of some of the details recorded in the grant portion of the Sena copperplates may be undertaken in order of revealing certain aspects of contemporary local political administration and economy. The appearance of new administrative divisions in Sena records was first noticed by D.C. Ganguly, the editor of the Saktipur copperplate, although he did not try to underline the probable nature of such administrative divisions. As Ganguly rightly observes<sup>6</sup>—

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal...The relation between *khandala* and *vīthī* is not known. The division of *vīthī* seems to have been a *khāṭikā*...Between *khāṭikā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *vṛitta*. *Vṛitta* was divided into *chaturaka*, *chaturaka* into *grāma* and *grāma* into *pāṭaka*.

Among all the above mentioned types of territorial divisions of administration, the three most commonly encountered names found on records belonging to varying geographical niches are those of *āvṛtti*, *caturaka* and *pāṭaka* although the last one, as we shall demonstrate, was not unprecedented in Bengal inscriptions, but assumed an altogether different connotation in later Sena charters of land transfer. Let us start with *āvṛtti*. Altogether three *āvṛttis* are known from Sena inscriptions. Arranged in their chronological order of occurrence, these are: the Kāntallapura *āvṛtti* of the Varendra tract in the Pañḍravarddhana *bhukti* mentioned in the Madhainagar plate, the Bāṇḍana *āvṛtti* forming directly a part of the Pañḍravarddhana *bhukti* mentioned in the Rajabadi plate and the Madhuksīraka *āvṛtti* within the same *bhukti* recorded in the Madhyapada plate.<sup>7</sup> Available literature dealing in the administrative history of Bengal in the early mediaeval period has taken *āvṛtti* as ‘an administrative *unit* (emphasis added) like a Pargana’<sup>8</sup> or simply ‘sub-divisions of a kingdom’,<sup>9</sup> though no satisfactory explanation of such a comparative derivation has been offered. Unfortunately the inscriptions are simply silent about the nature and characters of them. Then what could have been the nature of an *āvṛtti* level centre of administration? A somewhat logical clue is provided in a work of lexicography called *Amarakoṣa*. The text refers, in the section on adjectives, to the term *āvṛta* as essentially a general place-name and further suggests that an *āvṛta* should be morphologically described as an ‘area covered (or secured) with a moat or ditches.’<sup>10</sup> The only logical inference one can draw—though tentatively and at the risk of taking the term in its physical sense—is that an *āvṛtti* (undoubtedly in an extended sense of the term *āvṛta*) was plausibly a fortified (or moat protected) nucleus/core settlement area of a larger administrative division labeled with the same name. Out of the three *āvṛtti* category

administrative centres of the Sena dominion, one was located within the geo-political boundary of Varendra in Paundravarddhana province, while the rest were located in the Vāṅga region.

Some of the *āvṛttis* mentioned above incorporated within their spatial limits, another newly introduced politico-administrative centre called *caturaka*. The Vasuśī and the Navasarīgraha *caturakas* were parts respectively of the Bāṇḍana and the Madhuksīraka *āvṛttis* and were located presumably between Sabhar and Dhaka-Bikrampur regions in Bangladesh.<sup>11</sup> This statement does not imply that a *caturaka* was exclusively a subdivision of an *āvṛtti*. There are as many as five more instances in the Sena copper plates where a *caturaka* is found to form a part of some other category of administrative centre; a different dimension of this fact will concern us later. Thus, the Vetadda, Kāntallapura, Kumārapura, Lāuhāṇḍā, and the Urā *caturakas* were not only located in different geographical sectors, but were also not part of any *āvṛtti* (see Appendix for further details).

Discussions on the word *caturaka* by some of the ranking authorities have been more than that on *āvṛtti*. A number of suggestions on the character of this administrative division in Bengal are available in the extant literature. Depending on its occurrence in a Deccanese compendium of the middle age named *Lekhapaddhati*, a group of scholars took it as a ‘police station’ or ‘tax for the maintenance of a police station’.<sup>12</sup> A second group of scholars intended to derive the term from the composition of four, depending on the root word *catuh* from which the term originates.<sup>13</sup> While both of these suggestions are partially correct, a more intensive study of the etymology and the spatial distribution of *caturakas* will lead one to reveal some crucially significant attributes of this geographical-administrative centre.

It can be reasonably ascertained from a study of etymology of the term that *caturaka* possessed a dual identity as an administrative centre. Initially emanating out of the root ‘four’, the term in its extended sense meant the nucleus of a larger spatial entity connected with the provision of security to its residents. Secondly, such *caturakas* also acted as tax collectorates (attention may be drawn here to the name *Navasarīgraha caturaka*, lit. ‘new collectorate’ recorded in the *Madhyapada* plate). In order of underlining the genesis of functional characters of the *caturakas*, the most crucial clue seems to be hidden in the pattern of their geographical distribution. Firstly, even a casual review of their spatial distribution clearly reveals that each of them was located on or along the actual coastal uplands of Deltaic Bengal, where landscape is dominated by the sweeping deposition of secondary alluvium. Govindapur, Bakultala and Saktipur plates record donation of lands both to the east and the west of the river Bhagirathi; the Rajabadi/Bhawal plate refers to land grant in areas around the confluence of the Padma and the Yamuna rivers; all the three *caturakas* mentioned in the *Madhyapada* plate may be located around the Vikramapura *bhāga* (‘section’) of Vāṅga. Secondly, *caturakas* are located at consistently

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shifting levels in the general ladder of administrative divisions, suggesting changes in the spatial limits of this tier at different regional and sub-regional levels. Finally, one of the interesting accounts on the character of landholding elites at *caturaka* level is delineated in the Bakultala plate of the time of Laksmanasena. It refers to the creation of a plot of *agrahāra* for a *śāntyāgārika* category of official in the *Mandala grāma* within the Kāntallapura *caturaka* and further refers, in relation to the specification of boundaries of the granted land, to the pre-existing four *agrahāra* settlements held by four other *śāntyāgārika* officials.<sup>14</sup>

The third tier of regional administration that finds place in some of the later Sena inscriptions is *pāṭaka*. The earliest epigraphic reference to the word as part of a village settlement in early Bengal appears in the Damodarpur copperplate of Gupta year 224 (c. AD 543-44), which records transfer of 2 *kulyavāpas* of land in three localities of which one was *Svacchanda-pāṭaka*, the two others having been Arddhatī and *Lavaṅgaśikā*.<sup>15</sup> Now, if one takes the term *prāveśya* in the phrase *Svacchandapāṭake-Arddhatīprāveśya-Lavaṅgaśikāyāñca*, to refer, following D.C. Sircar, to ‘the revenue assessment of a village with another’,<sup>16</sup> the implication of the statement that becomes quite conspicuous is the fact that *Svacchanda-pāṭaka* did not form, *sensu stricto*, a village *per se* and this was possibly the precise reason behind the commission of joint revenue assessment for two rural localities spatially smaller than a *grāma*, by the authorities of the *Kotīvarṣa viśaya*. Sircar’s suggestion following Keilhorn, in that case, that a *pāṭaka* was actually ‘the outlying portions of a village...which had a name of its own, but really belonged to a larger village’,<sup>17</sup> seems quite reasonable and justified. *Pāṭaka*, in the above sense of the term, continued to exist in parts of eastern and western Bengal throughout the sixth-seventh centuries. But it is quite curious to note that the practice of using *pāṭaka* as a specific unit of land measurement, having varying denominations with changes in time and space, also continued simultaneously.<sup>18</sup> However, it is very difficult at the present state of information to underline the exact relationship between *pāṭaka* as a rural settlement locate and that as a specific measure of land, particularly because there are epigraphic evidences to the reference of *pāṭaka* having both the connotations within the limits of a specific geographical area at a given point of time.<sup>19</sup>

Precisely from the second half of the seventh century *pāṭaka* as a rural settlement unit smaller than *grāma* ceased to exist in epigraphic records—the last known example being the Ashrafpur copperplate [No. 2] of Devakhadga datable to c. AD 670-71 where Tala *pāṭaka*, Markatāśī *pāṭaka* and Dara *pāṭaka* are mentioned as parts of the granted land<sup>20</sup> —to reappear after more than five hundred years in the Saktipur copperplate of Laksmanasena, where Rāghavahaṭṭa, Vārahakonā, Vallihitā, Vijahārupura, Dāmaravāda and Nimā *pāṭakas* of the Kumārapura *caturaka* are said to have been granted in the Uttara Rādha territory. Three other inscriptions record the donation of *pāṭakas*. These are: the

Madhainagar plate that mentions Dāpaṇiyā *pāṭaka* having as its southern and western boundaries two other *pāṭakas* named Cādaspāsa and Guṇḍīsthirā, ‘in the direction of’ Kāntāpura āvṛtti,<sup>21</sup> the Idilpur plate recording grant of land in the Tālapadā *pāṭaka* in Vaṅga<sup>22</sup> and the Madhyapada plate where one comes across the existence of Rāmasiddhi, Ajikulā and Ghāgharakātī *pāṭakas*, all possibly located within the periphery of the Nāvya sector of Vaṅga (Figure 2).<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that by the time these inscriptions were drafted, early mediaeval texts of lexicography had already precisely defined a *pāṭaka* in spatial terms. Thus, the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra prescribes, in connection with the spatial features of a *grāma*, that a *pāṭaka* is ‘half of a village’ (*pāṭakastu tadardhe syāt*).<sup>24</sup> Therefore, it may be surmised on the basis of available evidences that unlike *pāṭakas* of sixth-seventh century, which necessarily formed a hamlet or an ‘outlying territory’ of a larger village, the *pāṭakas* recorded in the Sena inscriptions were gradually being recognized as prominent and independent rural settlement units replacing, in select areas, *grāma* that formed so far the smallest territorial unit in the general hierarchy of administration. Possibly in compatibility to this new connotation of a *pāṭaka*, a whole new and complicated system of land measurement involving various denominations of smaller units was evolved by the Sena rulers in areas where the existence of *pāṭaka* as a settlement units was in vogue. The final manifestation of this development can possibly be viewed in the Bhatera copperplate of Govinda-Keśavadeva that refers to Bhatta *pāṭaka* as an independent settlement locality of Śrīhatṭa, where 375 *halas* of land was donated;<sup>25</sup> this Bhatta *pāṭaka* is unquestionably identifiable with modern Bhtapara, still a major settlement locality in Sylhet. Some of the *pāṭakas* freshly emerging in the Sena inscriptions deserve special attention, as their names would demand. Such a name as Rāmasiddhi *pāṭaka*, implying evidently a personal name-prefix, might suggest that the person after whom the *pāṭaka* was named must have been a man of prominence in the concerned locality. Further, the name Rāghavahatṭa *pāṭaka* (*hatṭa* meaning a ‘market’) located in close proximity to five other *pāṭakas* one of which is specified as a *pura* (viz. Vijahārupura), is obviously indicative of the fact that this *pāṭaka* category settlement had a domineering role to play in the development of local commercial set up within the Madhugiri *māṇḍala*. These occurrences are admittedly inconsistent patterns, but when and where they are found to exist, their impact on the neighbouring rural settlement structure is undeniable.

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Apart from the interesting accounts on some so far less discussed names of administrative and geo-political divisions, a second category of evidence from the same grant portion of all the later Sena inscriptions may be highlighted through a review of the pattern in which the administrative headquarter or the more commonly known ‘camp of victory’ (*jayaskandhāvāra*) is represented in epigraphic sources. From the time of the Pāla rule onwards the names of royal administrative headquarters, officially responsible for the

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issuance of legal documents, are represented in the grant portion of the copperplates in the form of a conventional sentence that starts with phrase *Iha/Sa kahlu*, followed by the name of the concerned headquarter (which is invariably a *pura* or a *nagara*), again succeeded by the phrase *samāvāsita śrīmaj=jayashakndhāvārāt*. The only exception to this is found in the three so far discovered copperplates of the Pāla monarch Madanapāla (c. AD 1143-44 to 1165-66/75-76), issued from the *jayaskandhāvāra* located at Rāmāvatī and hailed from Manahali and Rajibpur.<sup>26</sup> We may return to the exact point of exception later.

All the early copperplate inscriptions of the Sena rulers—chronologically ranging between the Barrackpur plate of Vijayasena's 62nd year and the Saktipur plate of Lakṣmaṇasena's 6th year—were issued from their office at Vikramapura; the *jayaskandhāvāra* in all these inscriptions is, as usual, is represented through the stereotypical sentence noted earlier. But it is quite intriguing to notice that in four out of the five Sena copperplates datable to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, a crucially significant variation in the pattern of representation of the *jayaskandhāvāra* is found, although apparently they seem to belong to the larger homogeneous group of Sena epigraphs. Thus, a critical scrutiny of the sentence in the Madhainagar, Rajabadi, Idilpur and the Madanpada plates<sup>27</sup> the phrase referring to the *jayaskandhāvāra* bears the following morphology: *Iha/Sa khalu Phasphagrāma/Dhāryyagrāma parisara samāvāsita śrīmaj=jayaskandhāvārāt* (see Figure 3 for the most prominent example).<sup>28</sup> One can readily bring home two points from the above citation: firstly, instead of earlier *pura* or *nagara* types, the administrative headquarters mentioned in all of these inscriptions are *grāma*; secondly, the names of royal offices in these plates are invariably suffixed with the unusual expression *parisara*. It is evident, from the regular appearance of the term in a particular set of records within a given time span, that its reference was neither normative nor arbitrary. The phrase in question has been translated as ‘here from the camp[s] of victory situated in Phasphagrāma/ Dhāryyagrāma’.<sup>29</sup> The apparently conventional sentence that contains this term—if one contextualizes the word with the manner of its expression—may be better translated as ‘here from the camp[s] of victory situated *within the enclosed/fenced area* of Phasphagrāma/ Dhāryyagrāma’.<sup>30</sup> The question that immediately strikes attention is obviously related to the contention behind such an unusual specification in the representation of the administrative headquarter. In order of having a justifiable answer, one may now recall the exceptional representation of the *jayaskandhāvāra* in the copperplates of Madanapāla. Apart from the Sena inscriptions referred to above, the land grant charters of this last paramount Pāla king are the only epigraphic documents of early mediaeval Bengal that referred to the ‘capital’ as *parisara samāvāsita*. These are also the only known Pāla inscriptions issued from the well known city of Rāmāvatī. If one takes a look at the description of the city during the reign of Rāmapāla, as gauged from the

*Rāmacaricam* of Sandhyākaranandin, the narrative is clearly that of a flourishing urban centre.<sup>31</sup> But since we do not have a single copperplate inscription of this ruler so far known, it is difficult to speculate about its status as a ‘camp of victory’ in the eleventh century. And when it finally figures in the inscriptional corpus around the middle of the twelfth century, it is precisely and repeatedly described as an essentially ‘enclosed’ place.

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An endeavour in the foregoing has been made to re-read the patterns of representations of certain administrative centres—together with a study of their names and geographical distribution—from some of the epigraphic texts of the Sena period in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. It has been found from the empirical exercise that three new territorial divisions characterized the hierarchy of Sena administrative polity in the concerned period of time. All of these freshly introduced administrative centres, viz. *āvṛtti*, *caturaka* and *pāṭaka*, were geographically spread over all the major sub-regions of early mediaeval Bengal like the Vaṅga territory to the east, the *Khāḍi* unit of the southwestern sector, the northern Rādha tract of the central delta and the Varendra segment of the northern plains. Chronologically their appearance is confined within a span of not more than sixty years, the most frequent occurrences being found in the last twenty years of Sena rule.

In the first place, it is fascinating to notice that the largest concentration of these regional and sub-regional centres of political administration like *āvṛttis* and *caturakas* is found in the *Nāvyā* (*lit.* ‘navigable’) sector of Vaṅga and the *Khāḍi* areas contiguous to the estuarine mouth of the Bay of Bengal. Thus, they were mostly located in regions that formed a potential buffer zone in the context of wider Indian Ocean exchange networks along the littoral areas, evidently through the Samatāta-based linkages of trade.<sup>32</sup> Besides, sporadic concentration of such territorial divisions is also occasionally found in the central Bhagirathi delta having sweeping distribution of older alluvium deposits fit for expansion of sedentary agrarian settlements. It is interesting to note that altogether eight *agrahāra* plots in two presumably contiguous sets within the spatial orbits of four *caturakas* in the *Khāḍi* and the *Nāvyā* territories, find mention in the Bakultala and the Madhyapada plates. Now, the composite landmass around such hydrographically and geologically dynamic spaces (viz. *Nāvyā* and *Khāḍi*) is highly suitable for the expansion of agrarian settlements.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, increasing concentration of newly created ‘rent-free’ settlements in these active alluvial plains must have had a close bearing on the broader rural agrarian set up of the coastal uplands. Further, it has been suggested quite rightly that such concentrations as reflected in the case of the Bakultala plate are indicative—though not in any spatio-temporally uniform manner—of certain interactive relationships between the secular landholders at the village level and the *agrahāra* holding religious elements at the immediately superior (i.e. *caturaka*) level.<sup>34</sup> Secondly, gradual prominence of certain *pāṭakas* as administrative

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divisions in select geographical terrains more suitable for spread of agriculture and consolidation of economic affairs through trade linkages—sometimes having close bearing on the rural settlement structures or on organization of local economy (as evident from names like Rāmasiddhi *pāṭaka* and Rāghavahat्ता *pāṭaka*)—obviously reflects an intense trend in regional and sub-regional geo-political growth. This development of *pāṭaka* as a settlement locale vis-à-vis revenue unit spatially distinguishable form a *grāma* was in compatibility to a highly advanced and intricate system of land-measurement and revenue assessment in which several newer and smaller units of measurement *bhū-khāḍī*, *khāḍikā*, *kākinī*, and *udāna* (i.e. *unmāna*) were freshly implemented in areas where such geo-political growths can be effectively implemented. Furthermore, spatial distribution of these geo-political centres of local administration would reveal that they were created in some deliberately chosen geographical niches either highly fertile for agriculture and sedentary growth or essentially vibrant in the context of local and extra-local levels of trading linkages. Thus, it will be difficult to visualize these geo-political centres as omnipresent ‘units’ like *viṣayas* and *mandalas*; rather they acted as sub-regional organizations, inter alia, of economic and political administration in select geo-hydrographic terrains of early mediaeval Bengal. It is again interesting to notice that such a purposefully geared regionalization in the geo-polity was getting strengthened in a period that had just witnessed the attacks in and subsequent loss of northern parts of the Sena dominion under the Islamic powers in AD 1205.<sup>35</sup> Possibly such regional and local political-administrative and economic developments coupled with a complex and efficient machinery for revenue administration in the eastern segment—that became the centre of Sena polity in the first quarter of the thirteenth century—had contributed to the fact that this ruling family continued to survive for more than two decades in spite of the sudden and powerful thrust from alien groups. Finally, it is quite crucially significant to find that at the later years of both Pāla and the Sena dominions their administrative headquarters are described in their legal documents in a completely different and unusual manner. Deliberate use of the term *parisara* in expressing the physical character of the offices, which were essentially villages during the later Senas rule, is possibly indicative of a conscious proclamation of the local administrative authorities, as one finds an identical precedence in the later years of Pāla rule in north Bengal, that the most important administrative offices responsible for the final endorsement and issuance of legal records are still ‘enclosed’ under the direct intervention of the central political authorities.

### **Notes and References:**

1. For a detailed history of research with an exhaustive introductory note refer, Hermann Kulke, *State in India 1000-1700*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp.1-57, who has made a thorough review of the different schools of writing on early mediaeval-mediaeval state and polity.

2. Ayub Khan, 'Bengal copperplates: Provenances and Preservation Data', *Pratnatattva* (Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University) 13, pp.5-36, has conducted a unique and exhaustive study to provide the most updated account of find spots and present preservation status of all the ninety-eight copperplate and copper vase inscriptions discovered till date from West Bengal and Bangladesh, based on archival sources. While his data on copperplates from Bangladesh is truly guiding, his statement that so far twenty-one copperplates have been found from West Bengal (P.24) including that of the time of Dharmapāla from Khalimpur, placed by Khan in the Murshidabad district (P.12), is wrong. In fact, nineteen copperplate inscriptions have so far hailed from seventeen provenances in present West Bengal; for a detailed study of settlement data provided in these, refer Rajat Sanyal, *Archaeology of Historical Settlement in West Bengal: An Approach through Epigraphic and Other Archaeological Sources (Between c. Third Century BC and AD Twelfth Century)*, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis awarded by the University of Calcutta, 2009. For general accounts of political history and historical geography of the region with the help of epigraphic sources, refer B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1942 and Amitabha Bhattacharyya, *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Mediaeval Bengal*, Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1977.
3. The classificatory scheme envisaged here is mostly based on D.C. Sircar, *Pāl-Sen Yuger Varṣānucharit* (i.e. *Genealogy of the Pāla-Sena Era*, in Bengali), Calcutta: Sahityalok, 1982 and D.C. Sircar, *Pāl-Purva Yuger Varṣānucharit* (i.e. *Genealogy of the Pre-Pāla Era*, in Bengali), Calcutta: Sahityalok, 1985, who chronologically arranged the epigraphic evidences of early Bengal based on complete documentation of sources known till his time. However, a number of land transfer documents have been discovered from this region in the last two decades, though the broad chronological arrangement suggested by Sircar remains almost unchanged.
4. Barrie M. Morrison, *Political Centers and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970, pp.152, has divided historic Bengal in four major geographical regions like (a) the Bhagirathi-Hooghly area, (b) the Varendra tract, (c) the central Delta and (d) southeastern Bengal coextensive with historically conceived areas of Samataṭa-Harikela.
5. For a detailed and critical study on the theme, refer Citrarekha Gupta, 'Land-measurement and Land-revenue System in Bengal under the Senas.' In, Debala Mitra ed. *Explorations in Art and Archaeology of South Asia*, Calcutta: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal, 1996, pp.557-72.
6. The observation of D.C. Ganguly, 'The Saktipur Copper-Plate Inscription of Lakshmanasena.' *Epigraphia Indica* 21, 1983, pp. 211-9 on this fluid hierarchy of administrative divisions (P. 213) is also echoed in Nihar Ranjan Ray, *The History of the Bengali People: Ancient Period* (Translated with an Introduction by John W. Hood), Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1994, p.285, who observes on the administrative system during the Sena rule that '[i]n at least one case the division between *mandala* was the *khandala*; elsewhere the *vithi* followed the *mandala*. In one case we see that after the *mandala* there was the *caturaka*, which elsewhere was a division of an *āvṛtti*, but we cannot ascertain of what an *āvṛtti* was a division, although it is not entirely unlikely that it was a subdivision of a *mandala*.'

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7. It may be noted here that the only Pāla inscription that records the existence of an āvṛtti is the Rajibpur plate of year 2 of Madanapāla that locates the village Budhavaḍā in the Śrīṅgātikā āvṛtti of the Kotīvarṣa visaya; refer S.C Mukherjee, ‘Gaudādhipatinā Mahendrapāladeva Pradattam Rajivpur (Bangarh) Tāmraśāsanam’ (i.e. ‘The Rajivpur Plates Granted by the Gauda King Mahendrapāladeva’, in Sanskrit). Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat Patrika 73, 1990-91, pp. 27-37.
8. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers, 1965, p. 380; refer also D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers, 1966, p. 41.
9. Abhay Kant Chowdhary, *Early Medieval Village in North-Eastern India (A.D. 600-1200): A Socio-economic Study*, Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1971, p. 373.
10. G. B. Bhattacharya ed. *Amarakoṣa* (with commentary and translation, in Bengali), Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 2001, p. 313.
11. Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍāriyaka: A Riverine Trade-centre of Early Medieval Bengal.’ In, Debala Mitra ed. *Explorations in Art and Archaeology of South Asia*, Calcutta; Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal, 1996, p. 557-72, has shown that from the mid tenth century the Nāvya and the Yola territories of early mediaeval Vaṅga played a major role in the context of Indian Ocean trading networks along the eastern littorals. Now, if the port of *Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍāriyaka* was located within the orbit of the Yola *mandala* and the Vasuśrī and Navasāringraha *caturakas* formed part of Nāvya (that also formed earlier a *mandala* under the Candra dominion) in the Vaṅga territory, there is every reason to believe that these *caturakas* were located within the orbit of these territories.
12. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 68-9, subscribes to the view of Chimanlal D. Dalal and Gajanan K. Srigondevkar, (ed.) ‘Lekhapaddhati.’ Gaekwad Oriental Series, 20, 1925, p. 9 who suggest that a *caturaka* was a ‘police station’ or ‘tax for the maintenance of a police station.’
13. N.R. Ray, *The History of the Bengali People*, p. 285, took *caturaka* as a combination of four villages, deriving it evidently from the root of four. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Co, 1990, p.36, seems to hold a somewhat similar view and believes further that the name Kāntallapura *caturaka* mentioned in the Bakultala plate was a ‘village’ that headed a group of four villages. Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘Between Villages and Cities: Linkages of Trade in Ealy India (c. AD 600-1300).’ In, Georg Berkemare et al. eds. *Explorations in the History of South Asia: Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund* New Delhi: Manohar 2002, pp. 99-119, rightly hunches at its derivation from the root ‘*catuh*’ and further suggests that this place-name had an association ‘with a place (neither a village nor a town) where converged roads from different directions.’
14. Rajat Sanyal, ‘Sen Vāṁśīya Tāmraśāsaner Sākshye Caturaka’ (i.e. ‘Caturaka in the Light of Sena Copperplate Inscriptions’, in Bengali). *Itihas Anusandhan* 19, 2005, pp.169-75. Refer also, Rajat Sanyal, ‘Caturaka in Early Mediaeval Bengal Inscriptions.’ *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* (forthcoming).

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15. Radhagovinda Basak. ‘The Five Damodarpur Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period.’ *Epigraphia Indica*, 15 1982 (rep.), pp. 113-45 (especially 142-4).
16. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glosary*, p. 263.
17. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glosary*, p. 242.
18. The earliest reference to *pāṭaka* as a land measurement unit is found in the Gunaighar copperplate of the time of Vainyagupta; for details refer, D.C. Bhattacharya. ‘A Newly Discovered Copper-Plate from Tipperah.’ *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 6, 1930, pp.45-60. For detailed studies on the changing denominations of *pāṭaka* in different parts of early Bengal, refer Rita Ghosh-Ray, ‘Prachin Banglay Pataker Hisab (i.e. ‘Denominations of Pāṭaka in Ancient Bengal’, in Bengali). *Itihas Anusandhan* 8, 1993, pp. 199-207. Refer also, Chitrarekha Gupta, ‘Land-measurement and Land-revenue System.’ Evidences clearly suggest that the existence of *pāṭaka* as a measure of land does not seem to have been at stake at any point of time, the last known evidence of the kind being attested in the Rajabadi copperplate of Laksmanasena; refer for details, N.K. Bhattacharji. ‘The Rajabadi (Bhawal) Plate of Laksmana Sena Deva.’ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 8, 1942, pp. 1-39.
19. See below n. 20.
20. Ganga Mohan Laskar. ‘Ashrafpur Copper-Plate Grants of Devakhadga.’ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1, 1934-35, pp. 85-91 (especially 90-1). It is curious to note that the same inscription also refers to the use of *pāṭaka* as a land measuring unit. Names of villages with *padraka/padrika* name-ending also occur in inscriptions of seventh century in southwestern West Bengal, for e.g. Kumbhārapadraka of the ‘Midnapore’ plate and Kaparddipadrika of the Egra plate of the time of Śāśāṅka; for a brief discussion refer, D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsiādass Publishers, 1965, pp. 376-7.
21. N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal, Volume III*, Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1929, p. 112, 115.
22. N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p.130.
23. N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p.142, and 145-7.
24. A. K. Choudhary, *Early Medieval Village*, p. 48, 80 (n. 128).
25. K.M. Gupta. ‘The Bhatera Copper-Plate Inscription of Govinda-Kesavadeva (c. 1049 A.D.).’ *Epigraphia Indica*, 19, 1982 (rep.): 277-86; refer also, U.C. Chaudhuri. Some Observations on Two Copper-Plate Grants from Bhatera, Sylhet District, Assam. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, 16, 1940: 73-77.
26. For the Manahali plate refer, N.N. Vasu, ‘The Manahali Copper-Plate Inscription of Madanapaladeva.’ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 69, 1900: 66-73; for the two Rajibpur plates, refer S.C. Mukherjee, ‘Gaudādhipatinā Mahendrapāladeva Pradattam Rajivpur (Bangarh) Tāmraśāsanam.’
27. The name of the place of issuance of the Madhyapada plate is not known; refer N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 140-2.

### **Geo-polity in Early Mediaeval Bengal under the Sena Rule:**

28. D.C. Sircar. 'Madanpada Plate of Visvarupasena. *Epigraphia Indica* 33, 1987 (rep.): 315-26. Sircar inadvertently omitted the most important word of the sentence, i.e. *parisara* in his reading of the text (P. 323). However this mistake was amended in a second editing of the plate, refer D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Volume 2, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1983, pp. 131-9.
29. For many examples, refer N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 114, 129 etc.
30. The term *parisara* may also be taken to mean 'contiguous' or 'attached to'; in that case it would imply that the actual place of issuance of the charter was close to the village mentioned. From the context of its occurrence of the term, however, 'an enclosed or fenced area' seems more probable. For further details, refer M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Corrected Edition, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2002, p. 604.
31. *Rāmacaricam* describes Rāmāvatī of Rāmapāla's time as the city 'carrying an immense mass of gems', 'the city of gods and wealthy residents', the city having 'a series of lofty temples of gods' and a city 'fit to be enjoyed by (Kuvera), the lord of Yakṣas and was excessively rich on account of its Śevadhi'; For details, refer Mm. Haraprasad Sastri (ed.), *Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākaranandin* (Revised with English Translation and Notes by Radhagovinda Basak), *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society* 3/1, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1969 (rep.), pp. 72, 78.
32. Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Vangasāgara-sambhāndāriyaka.' A recent archaeological study on the early mediaeval settlements in the Sabhar region is a further indication of such local linkages between eastern and southeastern territories of Bengal; refer Akhtarujjaman Khan, Z. Majid and S.M. Rahaman, 'Prāchīn Sabhar Añchale Mānav Basati: Ekti Purātāttvik Paryālocanā' (i.e. 'Human Settlements in Ancient Sabhar: An Archaeological Discourse', In Bengali). *Pratnatattva*, 10, 2004, pp. 51-69. An intensive study of archaeological material continuously hailing from the present Khari regions of southeastern West Bengal may throw considerable light on the commercial linkages of this territory with areas farther east-southeast in the concerned period of time.
33. In deltaic formations, soil in coastal alluvial tracts around navigable water bodies and estuaries is often highly fertile for cultivation. A brief but good discussion is provided in Savindra Sing, *Physical Geography*, Allahabad: Prayag Pustak Bhawan, 1993, pp. 286-7.
34. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society*, pp. 36-7.
35. D.C. Sircar, *Pāl-Sen Yuger Vaiśānucharit*, p. 129.

## Appendix

### Classified Details of Land Transfers in the Sena Epigraphic Documents

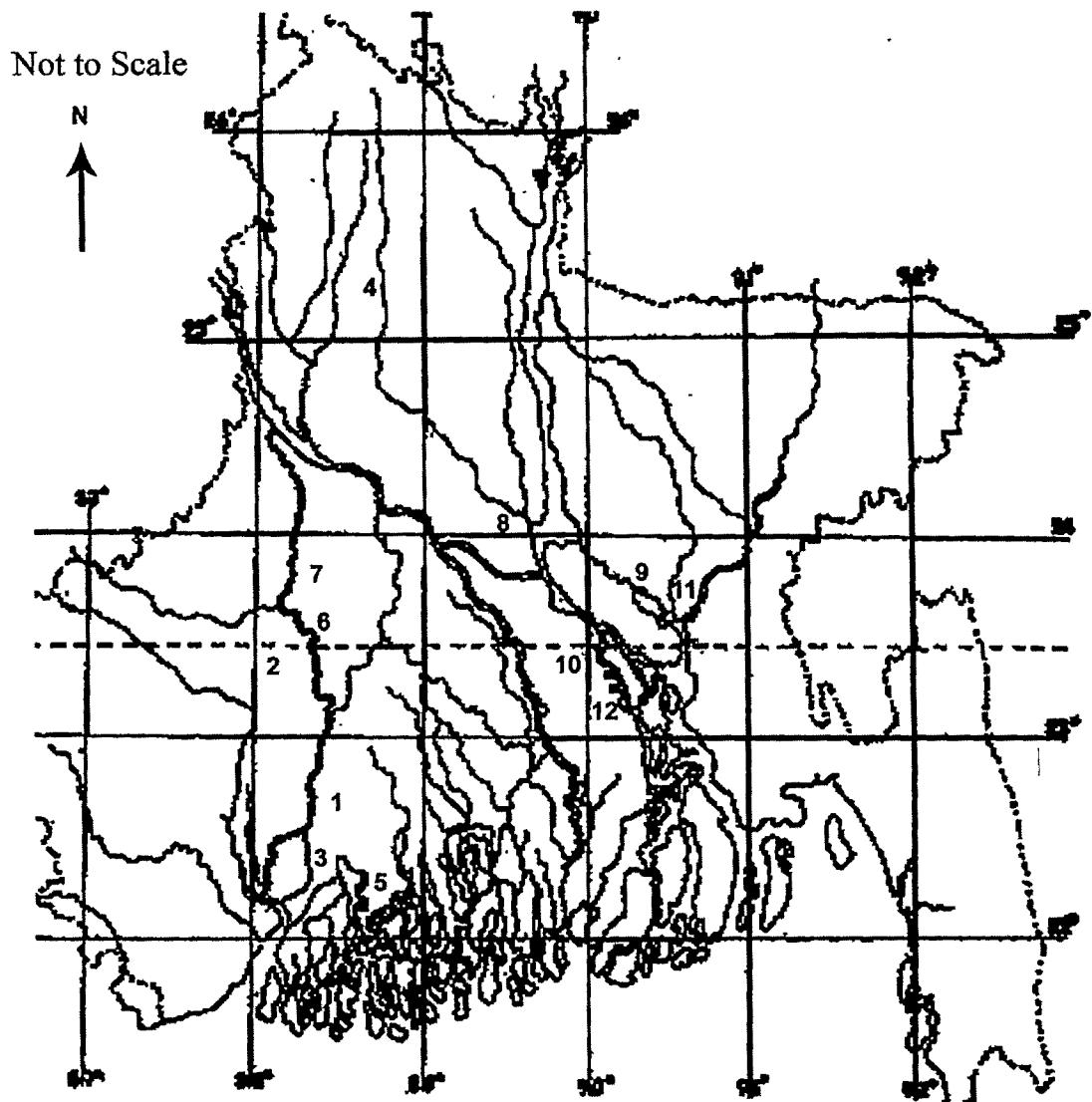
Provenance (find spot, district)	Reigning king	In the year	Issued from	Hierarchy of administration (upwards from village)	Quantity of Land
1. BARRACKPUR North 24Parganas	Vijayasena	62nd RY = c. AD 1158-59	Vikramapura	Ghāsasambhoga- bhāṭavacād grāma < Khāḍī viṣaya < Paundravarddhana bhukti	8 pāṭakas (Regnal Year)
2. NAHATI Bardhaman	Vallāsena	11th RY = c. AD 1170-71	Vikramapura	Vālāhītīhā grāma < Svalpa-dakṣiṇa viṣṭī < Uttara Rādhā maṇḍala < Vardhamāna bhukti	7 bhū-pāṭakas, 9 dronas, 1 ādhakas, 40 ummānas, 3 kāṭas measured by vṛṣabha-śankara-nala
3. GOVINDAPUR South 24Parganas	Lakṣmaṇasena	2nd RY = c. AD 1181	Vikramapura	Viddhārā sāsana < Vetaḍḍa caturaka < Paścima Khāṭikā < Vardhamāna bhukti	60 dronas & 17 ummānas of land @ 15 purāṇas/drona, measured by saptañcāśat-hasta- parmita-nala
4. TARPANDIGHI South Dinajpur (formerly West Dinajpur)	Lakṣmaṇasena	2nd RY = c. AD 1181	Vikramapura	Velahītī grāma < Varendī < Paundravarddhana bhukti	120 īḍhavīpas and 5 ummānas yielding 150 kaparddaka purāṇa/ annum, measured through the nala prevalent in that country
5. SUNDARBAN BAKULTALA South 24Parganas	Lakṣmaṇasena	2nd RY = c. AD 1181	Vikramapura	Maṇḍala grāma < Kāntalapura caturaka < Khāḍī maṇḍala < Paundravarddhana bhukti	3 bhū-dronas, 1 khāḍikā (?), 23 ummānas and 2½ kāṭikas (?) yielding 50 purāṇas/annum, according to the standard of 32 cubit = 1 1 ummāna and 12 cubit = 1 aṅgula

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Provenance (find spot, district)	Reigning King	In the year	Issued from	Hierarchy of administration	Quantity of Land
6. ANULIA Nadia	Lakṣmaṇasena	3rd RY = c. AD 1182-83	Vikramapura	Mātharaṇḍiyā khanḍa-kṣetra < Vyāghratī < Paundravarddhana bhukti	1 pāṭaka, 9 drona, 1 aḍha-vāpa, 37 uṇḍhas and 1 kākānika measured according to vṛṣabha-saṅkara-nala
7. SAKTIPUR Murshidabad	Lakṣmaṇasena	6th RY = c. AD 1185-86	Vikramapura	Parts of Rāgavahatī, Vārahakonā, Vallīhiā, Vijahārapura, Dāmaravadā & Nimā pāṭaka < Kunārapura caturaka < Madugiri maṇḍala attached to Kumbhingara < Dakṣiṇā vīṭī < Utara Rādhā < Kāṅkāgrāma bhukti	89 dronas*
8. MADHANAGAR	Lakṣmaṇasena	25th RY (?) = c. AD 1204	Dhāryayagrāma	Dāpanīya pāṭaka attached to Kāntāpura āśriti < Varendrī < Paundravarddhana bhukti	100 bhu-khaḍis and 91 khāḍikās yielding more than 168 (?) kapardalaka-purāṇa / annum
9. RAJABADI/ BHAWAL Gazipur (formerly Dacca)	Lakṣmaṇasena	27th RY = c. AD 1206	Dhāryayagrāma	Rāpaśvakotamajagahartarāka with parts of Cūrcālī, Kavilkī, Gaṇḍolī and Dehiyā; parts of Mādisaharīśī; parts of Vasumandāna grāmās < Vasusrī caturaka < Bāḍdāna āśriti < Paundravarddhana bhukti	6 pāṭakas, 1 drona, 28 kākīś yielding 400 kapardalaka-purāṇa/ annum, measured through dvāvīṁśati-hasta-parimita nala

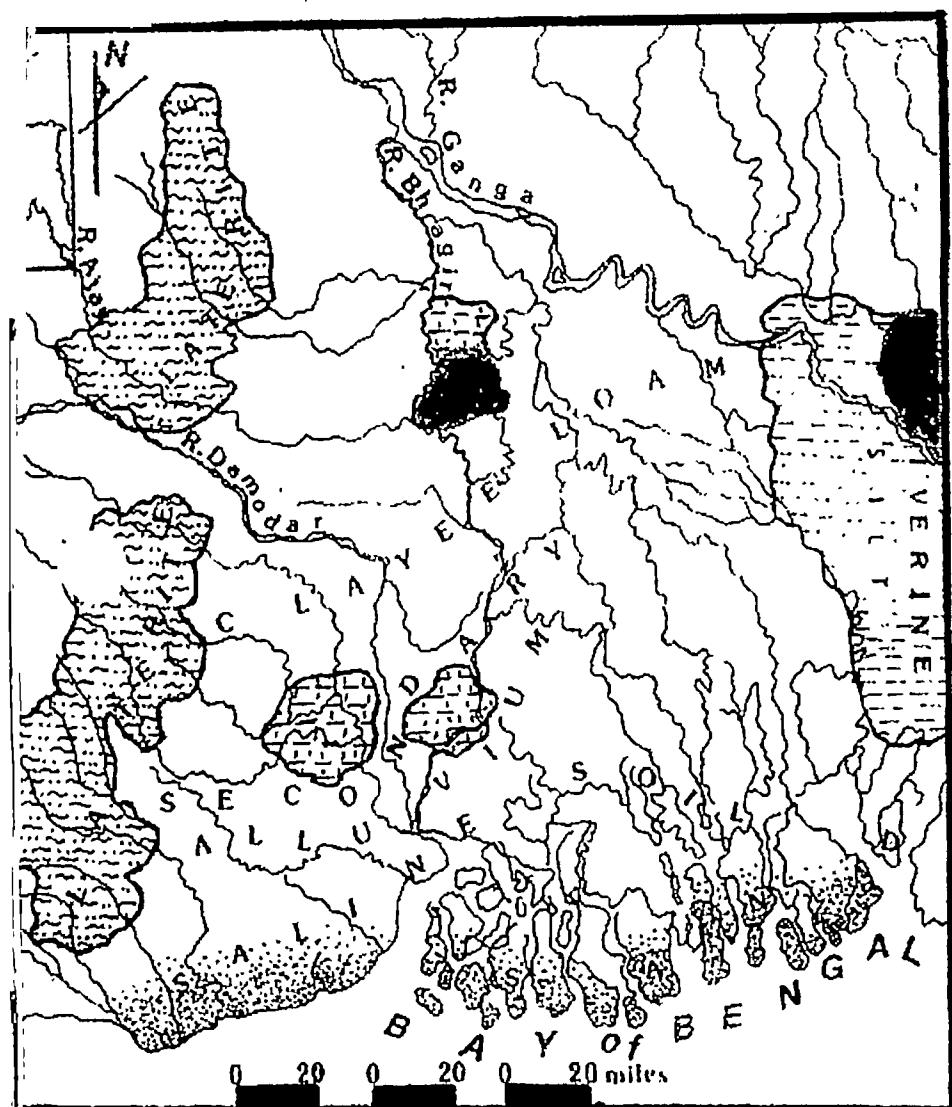
Provenance (find spot, district)	Reigning king	In the year	Issued from	Hierarchy of administration	Quantity of Land
10. IDILPUR Shariatpur (formerly Faridpur)	Sūryasena and Viśvarūpasena	2nd RY = c. AD 1213 (?) 14th RY = c. AD 1219-20	Phasphagrāma	Tālapāḍā <i>pāṭaka</i> < Vikramapura in Vanga < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i>	Probably land yielding 200 <i>drammas</i>
11. MADHYAPADA Munshiganj (formerly Dacca)	Viśvarūpasena	13th RY = c. AD 1219	Unknown	a. Rāmaśiddhi <i>pāṭaka</i> < Nāya in Vanga < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i> b. Vinayatilaka <i>grāma</i> < Nāya in Vanga < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i> c. Ajikulā <i>pāṭaka</i> < Navasāṅgraha <i>caturaka</i> < Madhuksiraka <i>drīttī</i> < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i> d. Detalabastī <i>grāma</i> < Lāluhanḍā <i>caturaka</i> < Vikramapura < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i> e. Ghāgharakāṭṭī <i>pāṭaka</i> < Urā <i>caturaka</i> < Phandravipa < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i> f. Pātilādiwika ( <i>grāma?</i> ) < Phandravipa < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i>	11 plots, altogether measuring 336 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>udīnas</i> (= unmānas)
12. MADANPADA Gopalganj (formerly Faridpur)	Viśvarūpasena	14th RY = c. AD 1220	Phasphagrāma	Piñjotiya (combining Piñjokāṣṭhi & Naranḍapa) <i>grāma</i> < Vikramapura in Vanga < Paundravarddhana <i>bhukti</i>	Land yielding 500 + 127= 627 <i>purāṇas</i>

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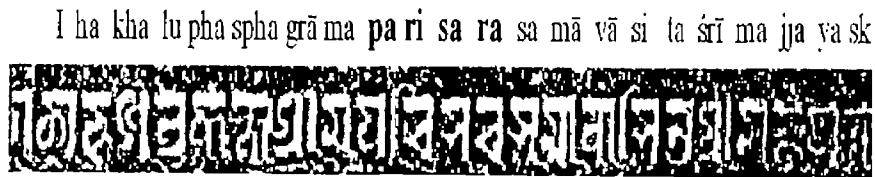


1. Barrackpur, 2. Naihati, 3. Govindapur, 4. Tarpandighi, 5. Bakultala, 6. Amulia, 7. Saktipur, 8. Madhainagar, 9. Rajabadi, 10. Idilpur, 11. Madhyapada, 12. Madanpada

**Figure-1 : Distribution of Sena copperplates in Bengal.**



### Distribution of pāṭakas recorded in the Sena copperplate inscriptions.



**Figure-3 : Blown op view of L 31 of the Madanpada coppe  
Viśvarūpasena (courtesy *Epigraphia Indica* 33, plate facing  
© Archaeological Survey of India).**

## and Daśavatāra Dance of Bengal

ERJEE

The variety of dance traditions surviving in India is amazing. The subcontinent has many different cultural regions. In each there are scores of differing styles of dance and music. Bengal is regarded as the 'Land of Dance and Music' for thousands of years. Thousands of music lovers, artists, composers and authors have lived on the soil of Bengal, who lived in music, breathed the air and atmosphere of music and enriched the golden treasures of Indian music and dance. But the most important contribution of Bengal to the music, dance and poetic literature in India was the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. The famous and popular *Gītikāvya* was composed by Jayadeva (a Goswami (second half of the 12th century), who was one of the *Pāñcāyatana* poets of Bengal), in the court of Lakṣmanasena, the king of Gauḍa. From his own account it appears that he was born in Pāṭanā, the capital of Gauḍa. His mother was Ramadevi and that he was born in 1150 A.D. His wife Padmāvatī was a great musician and dancer.

The initial contribution of Bengal to poetic literature on dance and music was made by the famous five court poets of King Lakṣmanasena. The most important among them were *Pavandūta* of Dhoyī, *Ārya-Saptaśatī* of Govardhana Ācarya and *Āśvina-Saptaśatī* of Jayadeva.

Jayadeva himself mentioned the names of other four poets of *pāñca-ratna* in the fourth *śloka* of the *sarga*:

vācaḥ pallavāyatūmāpatidhara sandarvahsuddin giran  
janite jayadeva eva śaranah ślāghyo durhahetu  
śrṅgārottarasatprameya racanai rācāryagovardhana  
spardhoköpi na biśrutah śrūtidharo dhoyik kavitakṣāpatih<sup>1</sup>

Jayadeva was a *smārtā-brāhmaṇī*, the worshipper of Śiva and *pāñca-devatā* but he was also a *bhakta-sādhaka* or devotee of Kṛṣṇa, it is believed that he achieved *siddhi* (realization of the ultimate) in the temple of Kuśeśvara Śiva, thought *nāma-japa*, i.e., by repeating the name of the Lord, sitting on a stone slab on which there was engraved a picture of the Lord. He established a temple of Rādhā Mādhava at Kuśeśvara and installed an idol to Vṛndāvana.

Jayadeva was a poet of extraordinary caliber. Nabhadasji in his *Bhaktamāla*, has described him as "Chakraborti Rājā" Emperor among poet, Jayadeva is said to be the greatest poet in the ancient tradition of Sanskrit literature and a pioneer in ushering in the new style of *apabhraṃśa* in subtle manner. He established a new style of *bhakti-mūlakāvya*—devotional composition which enriched *Vaiśānava* literature in different ages all over India. During Jayadeva's time, *apabhraṃśa* and regional

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languages were gaining popularity. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay opined that *Gitagovinda* was originally composed in regional Bengali language, because of the use of a few words such as ‘*padāvalī*’ etc. which are not pure Sanskrit. Jayadeva was a *pundit* (scholar) in both Sanskrit and regional languages. He combined in his *kāvya* the aristocracy of Sanskrit and popularity of *apabhramṣa*.<sup>2</sup>

Ancient Bengali literature are of two main types: i) *Padāvalī* and ii) *Maṅgala Kāvya*, *Gitagovinda* considered to be the source of both, as Jayadeva calls his own *kāvya* as “*madhura-komalakānta padāvalī*” and “*maṅgalamujjvalagīti*”. The *kāvya* fulfils the *bhavapradhāna* or emotional aspect of *maṅgal-kāvya*, Jayadeva is the pioneer of both styles.<sup>3</sup> Through literature we know that *sangeeta* was very rich in the Pāla-Sena period and it is said that when Padmāvatī (Jayadeva’s wife) danced, Jayadeva used to sing and accompanied her by keeping rhythm or *tāla* and so he called himself ‘*padmāvati carana cārana cakravarti*’. Although *Gitagovinda* is not a treatise on music, it gives us the impression of dance and music of that period, the golden period of Bengal, Jayadava mentioned his music—“*gandharva kalā*”. He also called his compositions as *prabandha sangeet*—

‘śrīvasudeva ratikeli kathā sameameatan  
karoti jayadeva kavih prabandham’<sup>4</sup>

Jayadeva composed the 24 *gītas* which are set in twelve different *rāgas* and five different *tālas* mentioned by the poet during the poet’s time and this style surrendered to *Kīrtana* style which gained popularity after the advent of Śrī Caitanya Deva, who was greatly influenced by these *padāvalī*. Apart from *Gitagovinda*, Jayadeva composed some more *ślokas* which have compiled in *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta*. It is a compilation by Śrīdhara-dāsa, a contemporary of Jayadeva. This book contains poems by about five hundred poets. There are thirty one *ślokas* of Jayadeva out of these, five are from *Gitagovinda* and the rest are from *stotras* of Śiva and other deities, while some are on battles and battle fields. From these *ślokas* it is evident that Jayadeva was not only a poet of *śṛṅgāra rasa* but, also of *rasa* like *Vīra*, *Raudra*, *Adbhūta*, *Śānta* etc.

*Gitagovinda* became a model for post Jayadeva poets all over India. As for example—*Vasantā vilāsa* (Gujrati 1350—1450 A.D.). *Adhinava Gitagovinda* by Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva of Orissa, *Jagannātha Vallabhanāṭaka* by Rāya Rāmānanda, *Gopālakeli Candrikā* by Rāmakṛṣṇa, *Padāvali Kīrtana* of Bengal, and *Kṛṣṇalilā Tarāṅginī* (17th century) by Kavi Tīrtha Nārāyaṇa Yati. The last was a great admirer of *Gitagovinda*. As a matter of fact he was considered a reincarnation of Jayadeva. It is needless to say that the inspiration behind *Kṛṣṇalilā Tarāṅginī* was Jayadeva’s *Gitagovinda*. The nucleus of *Kuchipudi* and *Bhagavatamelā Nāṭaka* is the text ‘*Kṛṣṇalilā Tarāṅginī*’. One of the important item of *Bharata Nātyam* is *Padam*. While discussing *Padam* in a learned article, T.S. Parthasarathi, has dwelt *Gitagovinda* at length—“Ancient dance compositions, if there

were any, have not survived the ravages of time, there is nothing traceable prior to the 13th century.....What is significant is that the *Aṣṭapadīs* are eminently suited for *abhinaya*. Jayadeva was the first to set regular musical compositions to given *rāgas* and *tālas*, with the *nāyaka-nāyikā* motif covering *śṛṅgāra* or love in all aspects, Love—in-separation and Love-in-union.<sup>5</sup>

Dr. S.K. Nayar in his book ‘*Kathākali Mañjari*’ has stated—“music in Kathakali, like its literary form, has been borrowed from Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda* or *Aṣṭapadī*, as it is known became very popular in Kerala not very later than its composition. It come to be sung at *sopāna* (the holy steps in front of the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the Kerala temples) by professional musicians hailing from a community called *Mārār*. *Idākka*, a leather instrument played by a tiny stick, is the only accompaniment when *Mārār* sings *Aṣṭapadī* at *sopāna*. Even today this practice is continued. *Kṛṣnanāṭṭam* owes its literary and musical aspects of Jayadeva’s *Gītagovindam* or through *Aṣṭapadī*. There are many other forms of historic arts which have direct resemblance, *Aṣṭapadi-attam* is one such From *Kathākali Vijāna Kośam*, we come to know that *Aṣṭapadiāttam* is the dance from which arose in Kerala as a devotional ritual (*Koti-Padal-Seva*). That brought about a musical system called *sopāna—sangeetam* and also a new dance form, based on *Geeta Govindam*.<sup>6</sup>

It was Jayadeva’s *Gītagovindam* and Manveda’s *Kṛṣṇa-Geeti* which were taken as models by Kottarakkara Thampuran for *Ramanāṭṭam*.<sup>7</sup>

*Kṛṣnanāṭṭam* was an adaptation of the *Aṣṭapadī* of Jayadeva. The general construction of *Kathākali* is more more like Jayadeva’s *Aṣṭapadī* than anything else. Since the music and musical pieces of *Kudiyāttam* were unsatisfactory, naturally King Manveda, the founder of *Kṛṣnanāṭṭam* wrote the songs and music on the model of *Geeta Govinda*. This style was later on adopted in the of *Kathākali*, by Vira Kerala Verma which has on the whole a strangeness added to beauty, modeled on Jayadeva’s *Aṣṭapadī*.

In his essay he has mentioned “First of all what is the origin or the source of this art Different scholars attribute it to different source. Some say that it is evolved out of Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda* and the *Kṛṣṇa Yātrā* in Bengal.

According to Dr. V. Raghavan the influence of *Geeta Govinda* was not only confined to *Kathākali*, *Mohiniāttam* and *Bharata Nātyam* but it ranged throughout Southern India for the heritage of the music of South India, the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva continued to exert its allround influence in love—themes, devotional singing and the structure of songs and song poems.<sup>8</sup>

Odissi dance was born of the confluence of the two streams—temple centric *Māhārī* and the rural *Gotipua*.<sup>9,10,11</sup> The former used to dance in temples and they migrated to Puri from Andhra and Gujarat.<sup>12</sup> And it was this *Māhārī* form that underwent a sea change under the influence of *Gītagovinda* is evident in Ramananda Ray’s major works—*Pijus Laharī* and *Jagannāth Ballava Nāṭaka*. In this context it is worth remembering injunction

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given by Rājā Pratāparudra, of Orissa, to the effect that the *Māhāris* will only be allowed to perform *Gitagovinda* dance-drama in the temple at Puri. The inscription at the 'Jaya Vijaya Dwāra' of the Puri temple states—

“thākuranka śrī Gitagovinda thākur bhogbole e nat hoibe....nācnimān purāṇa samparadā telengi samparadā eman sabihan bara thakuranka Gitagovinda hi āngit na śikhibe, āngit na gāibem an nat hai parameswaranka chamuye na, na haba e nai bitarke baisnam se gaibe chanke tharu asikhitamane ekesvarare suni Gitagovinda gitahi se śikhibe āngit na śikhibe eha je paiksa angit nat karail jani se Jaganāthanku droho karaile jani se Jaganāthanku drohokarāi.”

(Rough rendition of this inscription in English would read follows “According to the order passed in the month of 10 Śrāvāna, Śuklapakṣa, Wednesday. While offerings are made to the principal deity only *Gitagovinda* performance will be allowed by female dancers. They will accompany four Vaiṣṇava singers. Through these performances, the unlettered will learn the songs of *Gitagovinda* and no other kinds of song. If the caretaker of the temple violets the order passed he will be considered as rebel.”) In Orissan dance and music the interpretation of *Gitagovinda* is deep and firm.<sup>13,14,15</sup> Dr. Kapila Vatsayan writes, The impact of *Gitagovinda* was not only instantaneous but deep and powerful in Orissa.

The influence of *Gitagovinda* in *Manipuri* dance is deep and far reaching. Sometime in the 15th century Bhavaninath Bhattacharyya of Bengal found placement as a priest at a *Viṣṇu mandir* situated in village called *Viṣṇupur* located in Manipur. It was here that he initiated reading *Viṣṇustotra* and singing of *Daśāvatāra Kīrtana* from Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*. Because of the unavailability of the usual brass bell he and his contemporaries from Bengal used 'iron sticks' and the 'Pung' (a cross breed of the *Khungbung* instrument of Manipur and the *Mridanga* or *Śrīkhola* of Bengal to maintain rhythm during evening prayer.

This is how the *Kīrtana* and *Daśāvatāra* of *Gitagovinda*, typical of Bengal came to get established in Manipuri scenario. At first *Ramanandi Vaiṣṇavism* of Bengal became popular and almost at the same time 'Vaṅga Deś Pala' (Vaṅga means Bengal) or 'Ariba Pala', style of *Kīrtana* struck roots in Manipur. Needless to say the above mentioned *Kīrtana* style gained great popularity.<sup>17</sup>

Later the people of Manipur accepted the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism* (followers of Caitanya Deva of Bengal) and formulated various forms of dance *Nāṭapāla*, *Sāṅkīrtana*, *Rāsa* etc. based on *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Śāstra* and performing art forms of Bengal (*Kṛtchā*, *Śrīkhola bādan* etc. of Bengal). Performers and *Gurus* kept up the *Gitagovinda* tradition not only became popular with *Rāsa*, *Daśāvatāra*, *Nāyikā-bheda* and one can add that *Khanditā Nāyika* received great accolade for his choreographical representation of *Daśāvatāra*.<sup>18</sup>

During the *Ratha Yātrā* festival in Manipur ‘*Khubāk Iṣai*’ is performed. It involves the clapping of hands by women singer as accompaniment to Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda*, especially to its original version of the *Daśāvatāra*. Apart from all this other *Padāvalī Kīrtanas* of Bengal style are also sung. From what has been said before it should be obvious that the influence of *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism* i.e. Bengal Vaiṣṇavism especially Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda* is rooted in Manipuri music and dance.<sup>19</sup>

The role of ‘*Rādhā*’ is extremely important in Kathak dance. In a sense her role is pivotal. In the context of all Indian scenes this pivotal role of *Rādhā* had been largely influenced by Bengal’s *Gītagovinda* composed by Jayadeva. The Kathak dance based on originated from the *Vṛindāvana* style of ‘*Braja Rāsa Lilā Nātya*’ of *Kṛṣṇalilā*. This *Kṛṣṇalilā* is essentially from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Gītagovinda* or in other words the contribution of *Gītagovinda* cannot be ignored. The extra marital (*paraldyā*), ‘*Rādhā*’ cult or perception was taken from the *Vaiṣṇavas* of Gauḍa or Bengal. As regards the Tulsīdāsa drew his inspiration from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Gītagovinda* which led to his composition *Rāma Carita Mānasa* in the 16th century.<sup>20</sup>

Due to immense popularity, *Gītagovinda* has more than one hundred *tīkās* (comments) by different *tīkākārs* (commentators). According to great Sanskrit scholar Dr. V. Raghavan—“*Gītagovinda* is a citra-kāvya which occupies indeed a key position in the history of both music and dance and not only inspired numerous Sanskrit imitations but led to the out burst of a class of musical dance-drama in the local languages, sometimes mixed with Sanskrit, in different parts of compositions of Sankaradeva of Assam, Umapati of Bihar and Bhagavatanāṭakas, Yakṣagaṇas, Kṛṣṇānattam and Kathakali of the Andhra, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Malayalam areas respectively, all return to *Gītagovinda* as the ultimate source and inspiration. In the whole history of music and dance, in any part of the world, I do not think there has been a creation of a genius of greater destiny and potentiality than *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva.<sup>21</sup>

The influence of *Gītagovinda* on Medieval Indian Painting, in its different schools both in north and South India has been considerable. the erotic sculptures of contemporary North Indian Art, and in others, form the best plastic representations or illustrations of the *Gītagovinda* scenes and situations. Themes and situations from the poem have inspired some of the most beautiful pictures in the various schools of Gujarat and Rajasthan of North India (Vrindavana and Benarasa) and the Himalayan regions—Kangra, Chamba, Mandi, Basholi and other areas, as well as Nepal.<sup>22</sup>

Among many forms of the classical dances prevalent in India, *Gaudīya Nritya* occupies a distinct position. It is a subtle and sophisticated dance form of the eastern part of India, the Bengal The *Daśāvatāra* sculpture and painting remained mute yet irrefutable proof of *Daśāvatāra* dance in this land. The arts of Bengal during four centuries under Pāla—Sena and others like Malla kings of Visnupur and other local kings, zamindars of

### **Gitagovinda and Daśāvatara Dance of Bengal**

Birbhum, an Burdwan etc. are essentially religious and inevitable reflect the religious dance and music experiences of past centuries. *Daśāvatāra* sculptures are most popular among them *Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa* has to say regarding the interrelationship of painting and dance, and the discussion on painting and dance independently. Sculpture, painting and dance are three branches of the same tree. As in the case of literature and dance, the history of sculpture and painting also provides us with a vast storehouse from which we can gather materials relating to the evolution of dance styles and the narrative themes which tell us of the techniques of dramatic presentation *Daśāvatāra* sculptures have occupied the key position in the sculptures of Bengal.

*Gītagovinda* is a collection of songs connected by a slender narrative, all these songs are popular among the musicians and dancers of Bengal. Keith is right in conjecturing that—"he (Jayadeva) doubtless foresaw the use that would make them both (i.e. music and song) in the temples and at festivals. The songs are given to us in the manuscripts with precise indication by technical terms of the melody (*rāga*) and time (*tāla*) of the music and dance which they were to accompany and the poet definitely bids us think of songs as being performed in this way before our mental eyes. To conceive of writing such a poem was a remarkable piece of originality, for it was an immense step from the popular songs of *yātrās* to produce so remarkably beautiful and finished a work.<sup>23</sup>

*Avatāra* means incarnation of god. That God or Supreme deity or even man with infinite supernatural power comes to earth by assuming human form or forms of other sub-human creatures, in order to show some of his *līlā* or divine gesture, to fulfill his objectives for the time being and then returns to his own place is the sum and substance of his *Avatāra* theory. In the process of acceptance of Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa as Supreme God with all the qualities of *Narāyaṇa*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Prajāpati*, Kṛṣṇa had to remain satisfied as one of the *Avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* for a long time Jayadeva in his *Gītagovinda* after describing the acts of *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Varāha*, *Narasimha*, *Vāmana*, *Paraśurāma*, *Rāma*, *Balarāma*, *Buddha*, and *Kalki*, offer homage to Kṛṣṇa who is responsible for all the acts of these ten incarnations:

*Vedanuddhāratejaganti vahate bhugolamudvibhrate*  
*Daityam darayate valim chalayate kṣatraksayam kurvate*  
*Paulastyam jāyate halam kalayate karunyamatanvate*  
*Mlecchan murcchayate daśakrikrie kṛṣṇaya tubhyam namah 1/16*

Kṛṣṇa then is no an *Avatāra* here, but *Avatārā* or God, one who incarnates.<sup>24</sup>

The theme of the poem is passionate love of Kṛṣṇa for Rādhā, the cowherds, their estrangement and finds reconciliation and ultimate union. However, before the poet concentrates on the 'love game', he celebrates himself and his fellow poets in a string of verses followed by a hymn of eleven stanzas, sung in humour of the ten incarnations

of *Viṣṇu*. These verses introduced a deep religious tone. Then, the mood changes and the proper narrative begins with an aśṭapadi (eight stanzas) spoken by *Rādhā*'s friends describing how *Kṛṣṇa* is dancing with the *gopīs* in the grove. Then comes a series of verses, describing different moods of *Rādhā*, all intensified by the beauty of the spring. Structurally it is a fusion of narrative and the lyrical and also of dramatic modes. *Daśavatāra* is a very important item of *Gaudīya Nritya*. Not only on *Gaudīya Nritya* but also has a great impact on Rural Dance forms of Bengal, specially in *Kirtana*, *Nācni* and *Carak* festival. The festival of *Carak* takes place towards the latter part of *Caitra*, the last month in the Bengali calendar, culminating in the *Caitra Saṅkrānti* day or the last day of the Bengali year. The month *Caitra* is devoted to the worship of *Śiva*. In this month every evening during the time of the fast the worshippers perform the *Daśavatāra* dance, the incense dance and the *phal sannyās* dance So, *Daśavatāra* is very popular dance item both in *Gaudīya* (Classical) and folk dance forms of Bengal. *Kirtan Nritya* is based on *Daśavatāra of Gītagovinda* whereas *Daśavatāra of Nacni* and *Carak* is based on rural Bengali lyrics, which was also developed by the indirect Sochlars like E. Krishna Iyer commented in his article—“Jayadeva of Bengal, who wrote his beautiful *Aṣṭapadī*, is said to have expounded them by the dance and *abhinaya* of his own wife *Padmāvati*”.<sup>25</sup>

According to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay—“Jayadeva's *Padāvalī* as in the *Gītagovinda* stands at the head of the *Pada* literature of Middle Bengali,...he can justly be hailed the *Ādi-kavi*, the First Finished Poet of Bengali, as he is the last of the classic Poets of pre-Muslim India”.<sup>26</sup> Prof. Chattopadhyay addressed Him as the Makers of Indian Literature.<sup>27</sup> Though not a book of theological nature, the *Gītagovinda* excresced a tremendous influence on the Caitanya movement in Bengal and on to other hand Rabindranath in his literary creativity he wrote—

“bhārater śeṣe  
ami bose aji, je śyāmal baṅgodeše  
jayadeva kavi ak barṣer dine  
dekhecila diganter tamālabipine  
cchāyāsyāmā, purṇameghe medur ambar

— So finally we come to Tagore who not only an ardent admirer of Jayadeva but also convinced that he was from Bengal and his precursor.

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# **Contexts of Architecture in Archaeology: A Case Study with the Siddheśvara Temple at Bahulara**

**SHARMILA SAHA**

## **Introduction: The Scope**

Bahulara ( $23^{\circ}10'N/87^{\circ}14'E$ ) is a modest village on the southern bank of the river Dwarakeswar in the Onda Police Station of the district of Bankura. The village is about 3 miles north east of the present Onda town and 12 miles from Bankura proper. The archaeological significance of the village is generally underscored in the light of the well known *Siddheśvara* temple—one of the finest and largest brick temples of Bengal (Plate-XXI, Fig. 1). The area encompassing the village is topographically characterized by alluvial plains with scattered outcrops. The region is fed by the tortuous course of the river Dwarakeswar which, rising from the Hura Police Station of the District of Puruliya enters Bankura near the village Dumda in the Chhatna Police Station. The entire region surrounding the temple is an arable land with regular cropping season of rice and vegetables.<sup>1</sup>

More than a century of research on the archaeological significance of Bahulara, as it will be illustrated in the following, has been centred round mainly two themes: the dating of the monument on the basis of perfunctory and superficial studies of the architectural details and eventual discussions on the religious affiliation of the shrine, mostly based on sculptural evidences. The present essay primarily pledges to explore, in the light of a thorough study of the architectural and allied stylistic characteristics, the date of this architectural monument with a greater degree of exactitude than has so far been possible. Further, instead of looking into the architecture of the monument in isolation, the work attempts to visualize with the aid of an intensive field survey the building of the monument vis-à-vis material remains of the area that bear testimony to its association with the rise and development of contemporary settlements.

## **Dating of the Temple: Earlier Researches**

Available art historical and archaeological literature dealing with the monument at Bahulara is no less extensive. The earliest report of the shrine—like many other historical religious monuments in Bengal—is to be found in J.D. Beglar's report of archaeological tour. Beglar left a detailed and impressive account of the constructional details of the temple and some of the associated remains:<sup>2</sup>

The finest brick temple in the districts the one at Bahulara, on the right bank of the Dwarakeswar river. The present entrance is not the original old one, but is a modern accretion, behind which the real doorway, with its tall, triangular opening

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of overlapping courses, is hidden....The object of worship inside is named Siddhesvara, being a large lingam, apparently in situ. I conclude, therefore, that the temple was originally Saivic. Besides the lingam there are inside a naked Jain standing figure, a ten-armed female, and a Ganeśa: the Jain figure is clear proof of the existence of the Jain religion in these parts in old times, though I cannot point to the precise temple or spot which was devoted to this sect. The temple had subordinate temples disposed round it in the usual manner: there were seven round the three sides and four corners, and one in front, the last being most probably a temple to Nandi, the Vâhana of Siva: the whole group was inclosed within a square brick inclosure; subordinate temples and walls are equally in ruins now, forming isolated and long mounds respectively.

Two significant facts are readily understandable from the observation of Beglar: firstly, the shrine at Bahulara, as it is seen today, did not stand in solitude and formed constituent of a larger group originally consisting of nine temples and secondly, there is confusion about the exact religious affiliation of the shrine. In compliance with Beglar's emphases on both the archaeological potential of the site as well as architectural merit of the shrine, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) undertook clearing and conservation of the site in the early twenties of the twentieth century under the leadership of D.B. Spooner who dealt in some greater details the architectural features of the temple in order of fixing the chronology of the shrine. Spooner thus wrote on his first visit to the site that<sup>3</sup>

[t]he plan of the temple is polygonal with a tall śikhara (54 ft in ht) the surface of which is richly decorated with moulded bricks, one of the ornamentations being a repetition of the temple itself. The shrine is approached through a portico in the thickness of the wall, with a tall triangular corbelled arch opening.

Spooner further observes, now on the stylistic details of architectural flourishes<sup>4</sup>—

The excellence of the Bahulara temple lies in the character of the bands of mouldings which decorate the basement, and the elaborate ornamentations which cover the exterior surface of the temple, from the basement to the top of the spire [where] enough remains to show the elegance of conception and boldness of execution of the architects.

Of special significance in the report of conservation by the ASI is the statement that there existed, as revealed from the clearing activities of the area, a number of 'older structures underneath on the south side of the temple'. One can understand that these 'older structures' are actually twenty-eight *stūpa* basements having square, circular and apsidal outlines scattered in a haphazard cluster to the south of the main temple (**Plate-XXI, Fig. 2**).

Art historical studies on the architecture of the Bahulara temple was possibly initiated by A.K. Coomaraswamy who dates it to the 10th century.<sup>5</sup> A critical study of

the architecture and chronology of the Bahulara temple was first taken up by R.D. Banerji. However, it is utterly surprising to note that as eminent an archaeologist as Banerji starts his comments on the temple with phrase ‘the stone built temple of Siddheśvara at Bahulara’. He compares the architectural features of the temple with two other medieval temples of Bengal, viz. *Ichai Ghosher Deul* in Barddhaman and *Jatar Deul* in present South Twenty-four Parganas alongside some early medieval temples of central India.<sup>6</sup> Although he does not date the temple in clear terms, his chronological arrangement of temples where the Bahulara specimen precedes the temples at Dihar, dated to the ‘beginning of 11th century A.D.’,<sup>7</sup> has mislead scholars like Dilip K. Chakrabarti to date the temple ‘somewhat earlier’ than the temples at Dihar.<sup>8</sup> N. K. Bhattachari takes the temple as ‘the finest specimen of a brick built *Rekha* temple of the medieval period now standing in Bengal’, though does not date it in direct calendrical terms.<sup>9</sup> Recently Benoy Ghosh undertook a vivid descriptive account of the temple and suggested that the temple was erected between c. AD 8th and the 12th centuries, having belonged in initial centuries to the followers of the Buddhist/Jain religion who constructed the surrounding stūpas, and then being converted at a later date, in consequence of popularity and importance of tantric doctrines, to a Śaiva shrine.<sup>10</sup> David J. McCutchion did not assign any specific date to the temple, but asserted that it must be a pre-Islamic temple.<sup>11</sup> S.S. Biswas and Zulekha Haque, after a detailed consideration of the architectural features, date the temple to the 11th century.<sup>12</sup> D.R. Das, in his brief note on the architecture of the ancient period in Bengal, argues that all the constructional and stylistic features of the Siddheśvara temple agree with those not earlier than the late 12th and early 13th centuries.<sup>13</sup> However, in the most recent and exhaustive study of temple architecture of eastern India, Ajay Khare again subscribes to one of the many earlier opinions, dating it to the late 11th century.<sup>14</sup>

The above review is a clear indication of the controversies that surround the date of the temple at Bahulara. While some of the available works on the shrine do not consider a thorough survey of its architecture—as we shall see below—others are finally erroneous regarding the ascription of the date. It will be worthwhile, therefore, to undertake a detailed study of the architecture of the Siddheśvara temple.

#### Date Reconsidered: Architectural and Allied Details

The Siddheśvara temple facing west may be described in general terms as a straight śikhara cruciform in plan with corbelled square chamber and divisible into three transverse segments, placed vertically above one another, called *bāda*, *gandī* and *mastaka*<sup>15</sup>, though the latter is completely destroyed and only the two lower segments are now visible (**Plate-XXI, Fig. 3**). The deul is *saptaratha* in plan (**Plate-XXI, Fig. 4**) with each *ratha* variegated into a number of *uparathas*. However, at a cursory glance the projections in the basement might confuse the viewer, due to the flourishes resulting into the development of such *uparathas*, to take the plan as that of a shrine with as many as thirteen projections; though

on frontal elevation the *saptaratha* view is quite conspicuous. The elaboration of the *rathas* from three through five to seven—further elaborated into subdivisions as one finds at the basement of the Śiddheśvara temple (**Plate-XXII, Fig. 1**)—is a linear evolutionary development emanating out of an originally Orissan inspiration furthered by local architects' engineering skills. This is clearly demonstrated on plans of the Kantabera temple of late 9th century to the present one which is quite similar to the temple at Boram and the three temples at Deulghata in Purulia. Thus, the *saptaratha* plan itself with its subdivisions is a direct indication of the temple being dated not earlier than the late 12th or early 13th century.

The superstructure, following the normal rule of the *nāgara* style of northern India, is divided into three principal divisions as it has been already noted, viz. *bāḍa*, *gandi* and *mastaka*. The *bāḍa* is divided into five vertical segments—*vedībandha*, *tala-jāṅgha*, *bāndhanā*, *upara-jāṅgha* and *barāṇḍa*. The dado portion or the *pābhāga* in the *bāḍa* section is characterized by six mouldings, the lowest one renovated to a mere straight line. However, Beglar's drawing clearly shows six prominent mouldings of the *vedībandha* (**Plate-XXII, Fig. 2**). These mouldings rest on a two tier *pista* which itself is placed on a variegated *upana*. Ajay Khare classifies these mouldings as '*khura-kumbha*' and '*kalaśa*' with flattened top for the lower two (knife edged pitcher shaped moulding) and '*kapotapali*' (gable edge having the shape of pigeon's head or beak) for the rest above.<sup>16</sup> Temples of the thirteenth century usually have six mouldings in the *vedībandha*.

The *jāṅgha* is divided into two horizontal divisions called *tala jāṅgha* and *upara-jāṅgha* by a course of moulding called *bāndhanā*. The *bāndhanā* in this temple is characterized by three horizontal bands, the central one being worked out in the shape of a series of *āmalakas* running all through the four sides—except above the portico in the front face of the shrine. The two horizontal bands on either side of the central one is decorated with moulded bricks bearing the design of floral motifs. These floral motifs were introduced in the Bengal temple architecture not before twelfth century AD (**Plate-XXII, Fig. 3**). The double moulding course of the entablature distinguishes the *bāḍa* from the *gandi*. The bold cornices have a recessed frieze in between consisting of a row of miniature *sikharas*, a newly introduced feature in Bengal temples. The bold lower cornice rests on a double tiered horizontal mouldings running all through the four walls. Another very notable feature is a set of six corbels arranged in two tiers and supporting the moulding underlining the frieze. The decorated friezes as well as the set of six corbels are all elaborate features of a thirteenth century dated temple. Usually in the temples before thirteenth century, the *barāṇḍa* was characterized by a single cornice, which was a *khura*-shaped moulding resting on two or three thin corbels as attested in the temple No. 18 at Telkupi in Purulia, stylistically dated to twelfth century. In temples dated posterior to this like the Ichai Ghosher Deul—hardly datable on stylistic grounds before the 15th

century—the *baraṇḍa* is represented by shallow horizontal stepped moulding separating the *bāda* from the *gāndī* (**Plate-XXIII, Fig. 1.**).<sup>17</sup>

The temple has a projected vestibule or a porch in front. The porch presently visible is a totally renovated structural component leaving no trace of the original version of the same. Although Beglar suggested that the present entrance to the sanctum is not the original one, the ‘hidden’ pentagonal doorway now renovated by the ASI is a significant determinant of its date (**Plate-XXIII, Fig. 2.**) D.R. Das rightly refers to the pentagonal door opening, replacing the earlier rectangular type found at the Deulghata specimen, as a feature for late 12th and 13th century temples. Possibly the formation of this architectural element has its root in the late 12th century Islamic architecture under the Ghurid patronage as evidenced at the Qutbī mosque in Delhi datable to AD 1192-93 and the Adhai Dīn-ka Jhopdā at Ajmer dated to AD 1198-99.<sup>18</sup>

The miniature *śikhara deul* on the *rāhā* or central projections of the *jāṅgha* on three faces of the shrine is worth mentioning. It covers an area between the top of the *vedībandha* and reach up to the *baraṇḍa*. The lower part of the *jāṅgha* has an oblong niche with moulded terracotta plaques while just above is a miniature *śikhara*. The miniature *śikhara* presented a greater originality of the design of the main shrine, complete with the crowning element (**Plate-XXIII, Fig. 3.**) It has a heart shaped *gavākṣa* and a small niche in the lower part for installing deities. As Khare rightly observes that<sup>19</sup>

the whole composition on the central projection of the *jangha* is the general characteristic of the Deul type and here the aedicules show *varandika* and *vedībandha* also. Starting with the *deul* at Sonatapol, developing on the Boram site this concept is very clearly displayed on the Siddheshvara temple at Bahulara..... this feature was first seen in the Pala territory in Magadha on the Pala remains and earlier in the temples of Jageshwar in northern hills of India.

Several stucco sculptures are still present below the *baraṇḍa* in the *upara jāṅgha* on three sides of the shrine (**Plate-XXIII, Fig. 4.**) These sculptures, if studied stylistically will also support a date range between c. AD 12th and 13th centuries. The stylistic representation of the *Kīrtimukhas* and dancing female figures placed inside series of decorated garlands emanating from the mouth of the lion headed figures (*Kīrtimukha*) is more or less identical with twelfth century Pāla sculptures found throughout Bihar and Bengal. However the use of stucco in decorating temple imagery in Bengal continued till the 16th-17th centuries.<sup>20</sup> The *śikhara* is elaborately decorated. The tower has a very small curvature which however, ends up abruptly near the summit. The body of the *śikhara*, divided into vertical sections like *rāhā*, *kanika* and *anuratha* are serrated by *caitya* window motifs, series of *bhūmi-āmalakas* and other minor motifs. The *rāhāpaga* or the central projection on the *gāndī* bordered by two rows of miniature *bhūmi-āmalakas* on either side of the central *rāhā* is characterized by six rows of miniature *śikhara* at the lower part with a small niche at the centre just above the *baranda* capped by receding tiers in

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pyramidal shape and crowned by an *āmalaka*. The panel just above these miniature *sikhara* is decorated by a single row of *caitya* motif.

The elongated *caitya* window motif on *candraśālā* of the four walls of the *rāhāpaga* is interesting as the bell motif inside is very much elongated unlike temples of 11th and early 12th centuries (**Plate-XXIV, Fig. 1**). For example, the *candraśālā* of the central brick temple at Deulghata has a heart shaped design, while the brick temple to the northern corner of the same complex, architecturally ascribed with a date not earlier than the 13th century shows a slightly elongated *caitya* motif on the *candraśālā*. The *anuratha paga* is characterized by series of *caitya* window motif which rises up to the *mastaka*. The *kanikapaga* on the four walls of the *gandi* have not less than eight round *bhūmi-āmalakas*, with *caitya* motif in between—a feature not found before the 12th century. The lost *mastaka*, apparently resembling that on the shrine like niches on the *jāngha*, should have ideally consisted of *beki*, *āmalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*.

From a study of architectural details, thus, one can fairly argue that the Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara can in no way be dated before 12th century. If we make a comparative study of the details with two of the late eleventh and early twelfth century temples at Orissa like the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja, our justification for assigning this temple at a date not before twelfth century will become more convincingly justifiable. The Brahmeśvara at Bhubaneswar is the earliest known dated temple having a *pañcāṅga bāḍa* (**Plate-XXIV, Fig. 2**).<sup>21</sup> It has five mouldings in the *pābhāga* with a single moulded projection of the *bāndhanā*. The *baranda* of the Brahmeśvara has three mouldings with the one at the base very heavy, an anticipation of *baranda* of Bengal brick temples. The *kanikapaga* on the *gandi* of this temple has five flat *bhūmi-āmalakas*. The Siddheśvara temple, on the other hand, has six mouldings in the *vedibandha* that display a very stylized version of the Brahmeśvara *pābhāga* mouldings. The *bāndhanā* has three mouldings whereas the *baranda* is characterized by a double cornice, the lowest moulding being rested on corbels.

The Liṅgarāja temple has five mouldings in the *pābhāga* with three horizontal rows of *bāndhanā* and ten mouldings of the *baranda*. The *sikhara* is characterized by ten *bhūmi-āmalakas*. The *saptaratha* plan and six mouldings of the *pābhāga* of the Siddheśvara temple, along with other features, postdate it to Lingaraja. The stylization of the *pābhāga* mouldings creates a considerable chronological gap between the Siddheśvara and Liṅgarāja. Thus, the features like six corbels at the base of the *baranda* moulding, elongation of the *caitya* arch design and *bāndhanā* with triple mouldings are the notable features the Siddheśvara temple as one of the specimens among some others of the late 12th early 13th century brick temples of Bengal.

### Archaeological Context: Sources

It is more or less certain from the above undertaking that firstly the temple at Bahulara,

as it now stands, is unquestionably a Śaiva shrine. More importantly—as the *in situ* existence of a number of brick-built *stūpa* basements and architectural members in stone, together with the presence of the image of Pārśvanātha in the sanctum of the temple, would eloquently bespeak—the temple in its initial phase of existence might have had a connection with the Jain sectarian communities who flourished in the region in the early mediaeval period.<sup>22</sup>

The question that appears more crucially important is whether the temple at Bahulara stood in isolation as a secluded religious institution meant for ritual practices or it can be situated in the context of early mediaeval-mediaeval settlement history of the territory in general. In order of having an answer to this problem, a preliminary and intensive study of the archaeological remains around the village was conducted in the field season of 2005-06. A number of rural localities that surround the village of Bahulara are Ektarpur, Gamidya and Majdiha to north along with the Dwarakeswar river, Chabra, Makarkol, Patrahati and Suklai to the west, Bhaduldanga, Damasini and Churamanipur to the south and Phulbaria and Nabajibanpur to the east (**Plate-XXIV, Fig. 3**).

Apart from the Siddheśvara temple itself, the most notable yet so far unreported area of archaeological significance at Bahulara is the mound locally called Tarardihi, located to the western border of the village beyond the present habitation area. Though presently covered all round with sparse vegetation of shrubs preventing easy accessibility to the central area, one can fairly gauge that the circular mound with bricks thickly strewn all over the surface is approximately 30x30m with a maximum height of 4m from the surrounding ground level. It has not been possible to properly investigate the nature of material remains at the site. However, some fragmented bricks with 5.5cm of profile collected from the eroded periphery of what must have been a larger structural site, leave hardly any doubt about its early mediaeval characteristic. Profuse pottery scatters in the form of buff, grey and slipped red wares in the entire area also bear testimony to the once existing habitation at the site. The area demands immediate and intensive survey.

About 2 km to the southwest of Bahulara towards Makrakol right on the left of the Patrahati-Makrakol road one comes across the damaged core of a brick-built temple, frontal half of the structure having been completely dilapidated. The extant structure represents a large architectural core originally cruciform in plan with a dome shaped ceiling on pendentives. It is locally called the *Patrahati deul*. The location and other structural characters still visible leave hardly any doubt about the fact that the temple is one that was first reported by McCutchion, though some of his contentions remain questionable. It will be relevant here to take a detailed note of what McCutchion opined on this very interesting structural piece of evidence.<sup>23</sup>

About a mile to the west of Bahulara, outside Makrakol village, stands the tall core of another old temple. The large bricks and dome on offset squinches point to a

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comparatively late date. It appears to have had a verandah on all four sides, and may possibly have been one of those large *navaratha* designs that were built in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The description clearly reveals that the author was referring to the same Patrahati deul. Two points in this account deserve a review: firstly, McCutchion rightly observed the use of 'large bricks', as we shall shortly demonstrate, but surprisingly took that as a pointer of 'late date'. Secondly, he describes the dome as one supported by 'offset squinches', while in reality the structural elements are those of pendentives (**Plate-XXV, Fig. 1**).<sup>24</sup> Firstly, undisturbed samples of bricks collected from the mound underneath the temple—presently acting as plinth of the former—as well as those from the body of the temple itself are unusually large. Three samples measure 30x23x7cm, 28x23x5cm and 26x20x8cm. It is thus quite fair to conclude that bricks from an earlier structure that stood at the site have been reused in constructing the temple, for bricks with as thick as 8 and 7cm were never in use in India for building temples in the '17th and 18th centuries'. Furthermore a critical examination of the sporadic scatter of pottery in and around the area is expected to throw some further light on the problem character as well as the chronology of the site.

In most of the other villages surveyed (c.f. **Plate-XXIV, Fig. 3**), the nature of potsherds found along the banks of the large tanks, scattered on the cultivable fields, point to a continuous occurrence of habitation in the region throughout early medieval-medieval period. Special mention in this regard should be made of the site at Bhaduldanga located about 3km further west of Makrakol. Here, within the periphery of an extended tableland, fast converting into cultivable fields, one finds extensive and thick scatter of pottery (**Plate-XXV, Fig. 2**) quite similar to those found at other sites like Tarardihi in Bahulara and Majdiha and Gamidya on the other side of the Dwarakeswar. Among these, Majdiha is already reported as a very significant temple site of the Malla period, having a laterite temple of the reign of Vira Simha dated to AD 1663.<sup>25</sup> The contiguous locality of Gamidya also contains pottery, in open sections of local tanks as well as on the surface, similar to other reported above. The potsherds are characterized by red ware, red slipped ware, grey ware, black ware with oblique strokes on the exterior and a typical red and black ware, the commonly found pottery in the early mediaeval-mediaeval sites of Bengal.

### General Observation

A number of significant points regarding the history and archaeology of a micro region may be brought home on the basis of the above discourse, primarily aimed at undertaking a detailed and thorough study of the architectural and stylistic attributes of the Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara, followed by a preliminary reconnaissance survey of other neighbouring material remains in the form of associated monuments/ structural remains and patches of early habitation in the area.

Firstly, a critical study of the architectural and associated stylistic representations found in the present monument amply demonstrates that the temple certainly dates between the late 12th and the early 13th century of the Christian era. Secondly, the evidence of a number of stūpa remains within the temple complex along with the presence of Jain sculptural remains at the site is suggestive of the fact that possibly in the initial centuries of its genesis the shrine as well as the site might have belonged to Jain sectarian groups who gained strong prominence in the region in the early mediaeval phase of history. Thirdly, a survey of the neighbouring area indicates that the temple at Bahulara did not stand in isolation as temple building activity in the region had a strong and continued tradition, dating between the 12th and the 17th centuries—under local royal patronage of regional powers. Finally, the material remains abundant in the neighbouring sites, as revealed from even a merely preliminary survey of available archaeological database, will demonstrate that the area witnessed a steady growth of human settlements in the concerned time span in the middle ages and the artistic skill reflected in the construction of temples in the region is clear indication of the flourishing growth of variegated groups of settlements in the territory. However, a study of material remains at sites like Gamiya and Majdiha requires further consolidation in the light of more substantiated data base datable to the early medieval-medieval periods.

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24. Functionally both pendentive and squinch are dome-holders. Their crucial difference, however, lies in their engineering details. Pendentives are structurally plain or bricks laid diagonally, lending a triangular faceted face to the structural element; on the other hand, squinch is structurally a deeply recessed corner arch often having miniature bases at their bases. For further details, George Michell (ed.), *Brick Temples of Bengal: from the Archives of David McCutchion*, New Jersey, 1983, p. 67.
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# The Wrathful Śiva and the Terrifying Great Goddess in Eastern Indian Art : Andhakāri, Bhairava, and Cāmuṇḍā

GUDRUN MELZER

This article will examine the relationship between a particular type of wrathful Śiva image, namely Śiva as destroyer of the demon Andhaka, and related Bhairava images, as well as representations of the terrifying Great Goddess (Cāmuṇḍā or Carcikā etc.),<sup>1</sup> in the art of Eastern India (Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh) during the time of the Pāla and Sena dynasties.

From the 8th century onwards representations of wrathful aspects of Śiva and the goddess gained increasing importance all over Northern India. The sculptural tradition of Eastern India had, however, developed its own distinct iconographic system that differed remarkably from the iconographic traditions prevalent in other regions such as Uttar Pradesh, Central and Western India. The sculptural evidence is assembled in an appendix with the respective references and tables containing iconographical information.

## Images of Śiva slaying the demon Andhaka (Andhāsuravadha, Andhakāri)

Stone sculptures of Śiva impaling the demon Andhaka on his lance or trident represent the most important form of the wrathful aspect of Śiva in medieval Northern India.<sup>2</sup> More than 200 such representations can be attested to in South Asia, dating between the 6th and the 13th century. Amongst them, the number of Dravidian images appears to be insignificant in comparison to the overwhelming numbers from the other parts of India.<sup>3</sup> However, when turning to the eastern part of the subcontinent, in particular to Bihar and Bengal,<sup>4</sup> the noticeable rareness of Andhakāri images raises some questions. While in other parts of medieval Northern India, especially during the 11th and 12th centuries, terrific aspects of Śiva have been firmly integrated in the sculptural program of the main niches of a śaiva temple, in Bihar and Bengal comparatively few wrathful Śiva images have come to light, and amongst them Andhakāri images are the rarest. Most Śiva images in Bihar and Bengal depict a peaceful couple, a loving husband with his wife Pārvatī on his lap. Instead of dreadful weapons, Śiva holds in his second pair of hands a water lily (*utpalā*) and the trident.<sup>5</sup> The most common types of the many-armed Śiva in Bengal are Sadāśiva and Naṭeśa.<sup>6</sup>

## The earliest depictions and the textual sources

In order to understand the wide dissemination of Andhakāri images in contrast to other wrathful forms of Śiva<sup>7</sup> in the northern part of India one has to look at the earliest images of this kind from the 6th-7th centuries when monumental sculptures were carved on the

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walls of the rock-cut temples in Elephanta, Ellora, and, on a boulder of Mundeshvarī Hill (Kaimur district, Bihar). Since it is not possible to assign any specific literary source to the images, it is very possible that several iconographical details were transmitted visually by the sculptors. This visual tradition should be seen as being parallel to the textual tradition (of the Purāṇas) and not as dependent on the latter.<sup>8</sup>

When studying the earliest caves of the 6th and 7th centuries as a whole, namely cave no. 1 in Elephanta, and caves no. 14 and no. 29 in Ellora, it immediately becomes clear that Andhakārī images depict the only wrathful iconic form of Śiva, probably intended to illustrate the cruellest aspect of the god. The fierceness is expressed by mainly four pictorial elements<sup>9</sup>: (1) the dynamic posture due to the cruel action of impaling the demon Andhaka who is shown in a relatively small size, and the collecting of the blood in a skull, (2) the wrathful expression of the face, (3) the elephant skin to be imagined as fresh and dripping with blood in accordance with many textual references, and (4) the image of Pārvatī looking back (in fear), pressing her hand on her breast and turning away.<sup>9</sup> Regarding the first point, one has to bear in mind that the blood plays a key role in the underlying mythology, since every drop touching the earth would give rise to a new Andhaka. The (skull) cup in Śiva's hand fulfills two functions. It shows that blood is dripping down while the drops themselves are not depicted in sculptural art, unless they had been painted on at one time, and it shows that the blood is prevented from falling upon the earth. No other early Indian image shows a deity's wrathful aspect on a larger scale.<sup>10</sup>

As the rising popularity of Andhakārī images shows, the subject was soon regarded as the most appropriate one to demonstrate the wrathful aspect of Śiva. Even after other mythological subjects were introduced in Ellora, such as Kālārī and Tripurāntaka, Andhakārī images remained the most terrifying one in Northern Indian art.<sup>11</sup> In one of the most vivid panels in cave 15 at Ellora the fierceness is further enhanced by the presence of a dreadful looking emaciated goddess holding a knife in her right hand and a cup in her eagerly outstretched left hand in the direction of Andhaka's wound (**Plate-XXV, Fig. 3**). Above her head an owl has been depicted. She occupies the complete right half of an imagined diagonal in the middle of the pictorial space parallel to Śiva's trident. Her attributes and gestures and especially her specific posture clearly served as a model for the subsequent representations in cave 16 (Kailāsa Temple) in Ellora, even though none of the later images reaches this expressiveness.

It may be convenient to assign the name Cāmuṇḍā to this goddess taking into account her emaciated body as well as her attributes, namely the knife and the *kapāla*, which are an integral part of most Cāmuṇḍā images within *mātrikā* groups. Descriptions in the Purāṇas, however, widely disagree on the name and number of goddesses that are drinking Andhaka's blood.<sup>12</sup> In order to show the diversity amongst the textual sources and also

to give an example of the discrepancies of texts and images, the variants of blood-drinkers from the context of the Andhaka myth have been enumerated below:

- Three to seven *mātrkās* including a multi-armed goddess called Cāmuṇḍā and Caṇḍī, who drinks the blood from a skull bowl; text partially not clear (*Skandapurāṇa*, Āvanyakhaṇḍa [5, Pūrvārdha] 48.19-38, 49.1-4).
- The powerful *yogeśvarīs* (the mother goddesses?), created by Śiva in order to devour the demons; text not completely preserved (*Skandapurāṇa*, *Ambikākhanda* 150.12-15).
- The fierce Durgā (*Skandapurāṇa*, Āvanyakhaṇḍa, *Caturaśītilingamāhātmya* 51.14-15).
- The emaciated Śuṣkarevatī, created by Viṣṇu (*Matsyapurāṇa* 179.35-37; *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>o</sup> 1.226.32-34).
- Yogeśvarī, born from a flame of wrath issuing from Śiva's mouth, and the seven mother goddesses, created by Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Kārttikeya, Indra, Yama, Varāha and Śiva (*Varāhapurāṇa* 27.26-36).
- An emaciated fierce (*ugra*) goddess born from the ear of Viṣṇu (*Sivapurāṇa*, *Rudrasaūhitā* 46.34-37, *Dharmasaūhitā* 4.201-205).
- A fierce three-eyed goddess (called Karṇamoṭā) with *kapāla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *sūla* and a sword arising from a flame issuing from the right ear of Śiva (Jayadratha's *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 5.84-90).
- The girl Carcikā born from a drop of sweat from the forehead of Śiva, and Kuja (Mars) born from a drop of sweat fallen upon the earth (*Vāmanapurāṇa* 44.39-48).<sup>13</sup>
- A *bhūta* born out of a drop of sweat from Śiva's forehead that has fallen upon the earth (*Matsyapurāṇa* 252.5-8; cf. also *Skandapurāṇa*, Āvanyakhaṇḍa [5, Pūrvārdha] 48.42-44).
- A large number of mother goddesses created by Śiva, including the well-known seven *mātrkās* (*Matsyapurāṇa* 179.8-35; *Padma*<sup>o</sup>, *Sṛṣṭikhanda* 48.77-83; *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>o</sup> 1.226.6-32).
- Hundred unnamed goddesses created by Viṣṇu to fight the demons; also references to the *mātrkās* (*Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Pūrvavibhāga* 15.134-136).
- Many Śaktis created by Viṣṇu defeat Andhaka; no details (*Saurapurāṇa* 29.17-18).
- No goddesses involved (e.g., *Līṅgapurāṇa* and other versions in the *Padma*<sup>o</sup> and *Sivapurāṇa*):

The identity of the blood drinking goddess(es) is only one tiny example with regard to

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the difficulties of relating texts to images, and even when one detail can be discovered on certain sculptures, other details often do not match. In this case the authors of the texts were concerned with narrating the creation of the mother goddesses within the context of the Andhaka myth and of emphasizing the contribution of Viṣṇu in the originally śaiva legend. With regard to the sculptural representations, it can be ascertained that only a few images of Andhakāri include the group of mother goddesses. It would not have been difficult for a sculptor to introduce a *vaiṣṇava* aspect in the depiction of the goddess. However, so far not a single sculpture has come to light that shows any attribute of Viṣṇu or any other indication that could reveal the contribution of Viṣṇu to the slaughter of Andhaka or in the creation of the goddess.<sup>14</sup> The earliest figures of the goddess clearly share the attributes with contemporary depictions of Cāmuṇḍā within *mātrikā* groups and therefore may be called “Cāmuṇḍā” for convenience sake, bearing in mind that the goddess may not be completely identical with the seventh one of the *mātrikā* group.<sup>15</sup>

### The medieval type

From the beginning Andhakāri images do not include extensive narrative elements. The many figures and gods present in the panel at Elephanta praise the victory of Śiva and are not actively involved. Pārvatī plays a key role in the mythology since it is she who kindles Andhaka's craving and subsequent destruction. In contrast to that, in the visual representations, her image fulfills another function. She is depicted turning away, looking back in amazement or in fear, occasionally pressing her hand on her breast and therefore emphasizing the fearful appearance of Śiva. A dwarfish or demonic figure crouching on the ground and providing support, usually to Śiva's left leg is also not directly related to the myth. Most narrative details can be seen on the unparalleled panel in the Kailāsa temple (Ellora, cave 16, east wall of *vṛṣabhamāṇḍapa*) showing the mother goddesses and the weak skeletal Bhṛṅgin turning respectfully to Pārvatī. In the course of time even those few narrative elements lost their meaning and were gradually omitted. From the 10th century onwards Pārvatī is not represented any more, and the emaciated goddess as well as the elephant hide could also be missing. When depicted at all, she is shown dancing in a miniature size with two or sometimes with four hands holding *kapāla* and a knife, as well as *khaṭvāṅga* and *triśūla*. Occasionally Śiva's bull (*vṛṣabha*) is also present, as seen in a typical and well-preserved example found in the Southern *bhadra* niche of temple no. 2 in Surwaya, Shivpuri district, Madhya Pradesh (Plate-XXV, Fig. 4).<sup>16</sup>

### Individual images from Eastern India

Remains of not more than six individual images have been found in Eastern India, three from Bihar, one from West Bengal and one sculpture and probably one fragment from Bangladesh. Unfortunately, none of the sculptures under discussion has survived in its original context.

All figures of Śiva show wrathful facial features, such as tiny canine teeth and wide open eyes. The eight-armed figure from Konch (A1, **Plate-XXVI, Fig. 1**) wears a garland with a few skulls, a tall *jatāmukuta* and a diadem containing a frontal skull and perhaps two at the sides. A cobra is depicted above the right shoulder. The image follows the usual type found in Central, Northern and Western India, however, the elephant hide has not been carved, and the emaciated blood-drinking goddess has also been omitted. The tiny figure of Andhaka lies on his back over the prongs of the trident. Śiva's right foot is placed upon the back of a demon who carries a sword in his right hand. He is flanked by a female *cāmara* bearer and a dancing emaciated ascetic, probably Bhṛigīn, who is none other than the transformed Andhaka. In contrast to the image from Konch and to the images from all other regions, the severely damaged image from Purulia (A2) has a corpulent body enhancing the terrifying aspect. The corpulent body also characterizes the two images from Mandar Hill (A3, A4) as well as a stele from Deul Talanda (A5). All three images show Śiva with ten to twelve arms and with three faces, otherwise a highly unusual characteristic for Andhakāri images.<sup>17</sup> The figure of Śiva in A3 steps upon a large demon lying on the ground and holding a sword, while the demon in image A5 is much smaller and his weapon is damaged. Two images (A3, A5) show an elephant hide in Śiva's uppermost hands behind which a halo consisting of long stylized flames has been chiselled. On the pedestal of the same image, the bull (*vṛṣabha*) is depicted looking upwards as can be seen in many other Central Indian representations of Andhakāri, for example in the image from Surwaya (**Plate-XXV, Fig. 4**). Additionally, a donor figure and a two-armed Vārāhī with a human figure as *vāhana* are shown.<sup>18</sup> All three figures have a hairdo, which differs from the first image. The hairdo consists of flame-like strands of hair that stand on end, with a pointed upper central section. This convention for showing *ūrdhvakeśa* can also be seen on most Cāmuṇḍā figures from the same region. Other typical iconographic elements are a beard (A3-A5), *mundamālā*, and *ūrdhvalinga* (A5).

#### **Small reliefs of Andhakāri and Bhairava in the context of Cāmuṇḍā and Naṭeśa images**

Five further representations of Andhakāri of a much smaller size from Bengal have been made between the 11th and 12th centuries. Four of them have been carved at the apex of the back slab of dancing Cāmuṇḍā images (A7-A10), while the last one is seen in the small panels to the left of a dancing Śiva (A11). Due to the relatively small size, details such as the different attributes, often cannot be clearly discerned. However, the most important elements, namely the standing posture with the left leg bent, the corpulent body and the trident in the two main hands with the pierced Andhaka are unmistakably clear. The figure of Śiva is either four-armed carrying a sword and a shield in addition to the *trisūla* (A7?, A9, A10), or six-armed, holding the *trisūla*, *cakra*, without spokes,<sup>19</sup> sword, *khatvāṅga*, and an indistinctive attribute, perhaps a shield (A8, **Plate-XXVI, Fig. 2**), or

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is eight-armed (A11). The position of the miniature representation of Andhakāri at the top of the stele, flanked by other deities, finds a parallel in the position of the Transcendental Buddhas in Buddhist art. However, one cannot regard them as a proof of a clear influence of Pāla Buddhist art, as has often been claimed, since comparable miniature slabs are also regularly seen in Central Indian Hindu art. While in later Bengal art, from the 11th-12th centuries, peaceful deities as well as Mahiśasuramadini and Narasiūha sculptures may have miniature ancillary panels of peaceful forms of Śiva (usually in *dhyānamudrā*), Brahmā and Viṣṇu, Cāmuṇḍā images incorporate a wrathful form of Śiva as Bhairava, in particular Andhakāri, and once an eight-armed Nāṭeśa with a *vīnā* (Cāmuṇḍā no. 36), while otherwise only female deities, such as *mātrikās*, appear at the apex of the back slab. The four-armed Bhairava of Cāmuṇḍā no. 71 (**Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3**) is seated, pot-bellied and holds a *kapāla*, sword, *trisūla* and a shield. Rahman (1998) has mentioned one Cāmuṇḍā with a “three-headed bust, possibly of Bhairava” at the top (Cāmuṇḍā no. 83).

### Other multi-armed Bhairava images

In contrast to other regions in Northern India, in Bengal, one can find a particular type of pot-bellied, multi-armed and mostly multi-headed Bhairava image, the majority of which hold an elephant skin. Only few images of this type are known, all dating to the 11th and 12th centuries. Of these six are dancing or standing on a corpse (Bh1-Bh6, **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 1**) and one is seated (Bh7). In terms of their iconography, on the one hand they appear to be closely related to the representations of Andhakāri, although they are no longer connected with a specific myth, such as the Andhaka legend. On the other hand, they are also clearly related to the late Cāmuṇḍā images and look like a male counterpart of her (especially the skeletal form Bh2). They have ten to twelve arms, one of the images is single-headed (Bh7), five are three-headed (Bh2-Bh5, Bh8), and one has five heads like Sadāśiva, but in contrast to Sadāśiva, all the faces show a terrifying countenance (Bh1). Several images have been discovered in Dakshin Dinajpur district in West Bengal. They can be surrounded by *mātrikās* or other female deities (Bh1, Bh2). Closely related to these are contemporary images of certain Buddhist deities, e.g., Cakrasaīvara<sup>20</sup> and multi-headed types resembling Mahākāla and Yamāntaka.<sup>21</sup>

### Two- and Four-armed Bhairava images

A large number of Eastern Indian Bhairava images dating from at least the 9th century onwards show a pot-bellied two- or four-armed image, most of which do not have a corpse as *vāhana*. Their religious affiliation is not always clear and some of them might represent Mahākāla, one of Śiva’s *dvārapālas*. They do not have more than one head and usually carry attributes such as *kapāla*, knife, *trisūla* (sometimes adorned with a skull), sword and shield, but never an elephant hide. They are usually not depicted as dancing figures,

and they will not be studied in this context. One, so far unparalleled image in the Dinajpur Museum in Bangladesh, is interesting because it shows an emaciated deity resembling a kind of Cāmuṇḍā with two arms, seated between the legs of Bhairava. Apart from the few Bhairava or Andhakāri images already mentioned above that are shown on a small panel above Cāmuṇḍā, this is the only example so far, showing the terrifying goddess, independent from the Saptamātrikā group, together with Bhairava in one and the same image.<sup>22</sup> At least one sculpture of Bhairava shows offerings of human heads in a bowl at the pedestal,<sup>23</sup> a detail also seen on several Cāmuṇḍā images but rarely on the so-called Aghora images.

### **So-called Aghora images**

A certain group of Bhairava images have to be distinguished from all other representations of Bhairava referred to above. They represent a multi-armed wrathful Śiva defeating one or two adversaries depicted beneath his feet. They are accompanied by the bull, but never have more than one head and they do not carry an elephant skin. They are slender instead of corpulent, and they are not bearded. The previous identification as Aghora has to be revised in the light of new evidence.<sup>24</sup> An interesting detail in this context is the depiction of offered heads arranged in three bowls on the pedestal of one of these images.

### **Cāmuṇḍā images in Eastern India**

Just like the images of the wrathful aspect of Śiva, Cāmuṇḍā images do not seem to have been of considerable interest to scholars. The most extensive study carried out so far is by E. Haque (1992) who collected 46 Cāmuṇḍā images from West Bengal and Bangladesh, including sculptural fragments, and arranged them in six groups according to the number of arms.<sup>25</sup> A meaningful discussion of certain iconographic elements of Eastern Indian representations, however, can only be achieved if the available images from Bihar are also considered, since they form a homogenous group together with the images from Bengal. Thus, by including the evidence from Bihar and the several new images that have come to light since, the original list by E. Haque can be extended to more than twice its length, namely to 119 examples (including fragments and group representations), allowing a more precise picture.<sup>26</sup>

The name ‘‘Cāmuṇḍā’’ is ambiguous, as it could refer to one of the seven mothers or it could be an epithet of the Great Goddess as found in many stotras. It is thus not possible to safely assign the sculptures to either of these groups, although images with few arms are more likely to belong to the seven mother goddesses. Although many art historical studies referring to the goddess start by relating the myth of the slaying of the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa as told in the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Markandeyapurāṇa*, none of the images show a fight with the demons. Another name attested to in texts and in the Bengal inscriptions is Carcikā (and Carcā).<sup>27</sup> The name occurs also in one of the purānic

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accounts of the Andhaka legend, namely in the *Vāmanapurāṇa* referred to above. The images enumerated in the appendix can be seen as documenting a certain category of deities, not necessarily a single individual deity. In particular the two-armed Cāmuṇḍās should be examined separately, since every image has unique features.

In the following, the most important iconographic characteristics are summarized. Cāmuṇḍā images generally show, in addition to their skeletal body, all the attributes of wrathful deities including fangs, three wide open eyes (especially in Bengal), open mouth, hair standing on end, snake ornaments (especially in and near the hair), a skull garland (*mundamālā*), occasionally a skull in the hair, or human hands as earrings (e.g., 18-19), and the like. At least four images also wear a circular *jatābhāra* (30, 37, 63, 77). Only very few sculptures show a crescent in the hair (16). Several of the two to eight-armed images do not have a *yajñopavīta* (Plate-XXVII, Fig. 2; Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 2).

An iconographic element frequently met with in images from Central India and other Northern Indian regions is the scorpion on the sunken abdomen. However, in contrast, the number of Eastern Indian images containing a scorpion is limited (19, 53, 64, 66, 79, 98, 116; Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 2).<sup>28</sup> One image instead shows a lizard (69).

Two images have three faces (35, 49). The goddess is depicted either as seated (58 images) or as dancing (37 images). Most seated images are in *lalitāsana* directly on a “corpse” (*śava, preta*) that serves as the seat of the goddess, or on a lotus, beneath which the corpse is shown (1, 3, 6-10, 12, 18-21, 23-25, 27-33, 37-40, 42-48, 50-55, 57, 60-63, 65, 68, 76, 79, 81, 88, 92, 97, 106). Only a few images are seated in *mahārājalilāsana* (2, 4, 15-17, 30). Corpses as *vāhana* of deities are naturally not represented as “dead” but usually depicted very much alive as indicated by their animated poses.<sup>29</sup> Dancing Cāmuṇḍās stand in most cases on the shoulders of a dancing human being, who might also represent the corpse *vāhana* (*śava, preta*), depicted either slender (13, 58, 71, 74, 77, 91, 93, 98, 109; Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3) or corpulent (*vāmana*: 41, 59, 73, 83, 90, 95, 111; not known: 34, 56, 69?, 72?, 75?, 94?, 96?, 99?, 100, 107, 112?). A small number of the figures dance on a reclining corpse (22, 36, 49, 58, 64, 70, 78, 110) which is more typical for Central Indian images, and one example dances in front of a reclining corpse (26). Occasionally the corpse is depicted with *ūrdhvalinga* (52, 71, 79?, 83; Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3). Altogether in only two examples has the corpse been completely omitted (seated: 4; dancing: 14). The details in the depiction of the corpse vary widely, suggesting that in this respect the sculptors had more freedom of choice. Although the corpses very rarely have a *jatāmukuta* and in one case three eyes (no. 71, Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3), none of the depictions can be safely identified as an aspect of Śiva.<sup>30</sup>

Two male skeleton dancers may accompany the goddess on either side, usually carrying a knife and a *kapāla* (2, 36?, 41-42, 71, 73, 77, 79?, 83?, 85?, 91, 93, 95 [in front of two animals], 96, 98-99, 108?, 111-112; Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3, Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 1; one

of them with a severed head instead of a *kapāla*: 74, 109?). One figure shows two pot-bellied attendants, one with a sword and one holding a *trisūla* (78). The three sculptures described in secondary sources as having female attendants should be examined again (38 [with sword], 92? [on the pedestal, with *kapāla* and knife; a couple?], 108?). The skeleton dancers are replaced in one representation (64) by the *mātrikā* Brahmāṇī with *kapāla*, knife and standing in front of a *hamsa*, as well as a Bhairava with *śavavāhana* and carrying *kapāla* und knife. An exception is the image in the BNM (90) which has twenty dancing female figures with a severed head in their hand, a male figure in (*praty*)*ālīdha* and Gaṇeśa.

Several sculptures show a dynamic aspect (Nateśa: 36) or wrathful form of Śiva as Bhairava or Andhakārī at the top (71, 83, 93, 95-96, 113; **Plate-XXVI, Figs. 2, 3**). Brahmā and Viṣṇu, however, are never carved at the top of the stele. Instead *mātrikās* can be found in the upper part of the back slab (36: six *mātrikās*; 57: six *mātrikās* with Viñādhara und Gaṇeśa; 64: two unidentified *mātrikās*; 83: a female on a lion with knife; 95: Vaiṣṇavī; 96: four *mātrikās*; 99: Kaumārī; 113: Vaiṣṇavī). One sculpture is said to have five *mātrikās* depicted on the pedestal (110).

The upper part of the back slab may be decorated in various ways such as: an owl in the apex (2, 21, 36, 38, 41-42, 44, 54, 57, 74, 79; **Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 1**), a baldachin or a flower ornament in the apex (not iconographically relevant: 58, 66, 98), a *kīrtimukha* in the apex (not iconographically relevant: 16, 91), the head of the elephant hide in the apex (37, 43, 72), the head of a flayed human skin in the apex (52, 80-81), two flying celestial beings carrying a knife and a severed head (2), or two garland bearers (not relevant iconographically: 3, 16, 66, 79, 91, 95). A sub-group is made up of images with a tree containing one, two, or several attached human heads in the upper part of the back slab (25, 30, 73, 76-77). Other decorations such as a broad floral band of early images (e.g., 62) also have no iconographic relevance and will not be considered in this context.

Late images from the 11th/12th century may show an aureole of flames (21, 30, 39, 58, 70, 77, 91, 109-110; **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 3**).

The pedestals may be simple, *pañcaratha* (25, 27, 41, 44, 58, 64, 73, 76, 91-92, 111), *saptaratha* (2, 16, 39, 42, 74, 95, 109), or *navaratha* (100). Frequently, they are elaborately decorated with all kinds of gruesome scenes that one could imagine as taking place on cremation grounds (*śmaśāna*) and at the same time indicating the location for the dance of the goddess (**Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3**, **Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 1**). Three (21, 25, 30, 73), four (44, 76), five (27 [without bowl], 36, 39, 42, 74, 91, 98, 108-109; **Plate-XXVII, Figs. 2, 3**, **Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 1**), or six (77) human heads can be arranged in a bowl in front of the pedestal as an offering to the goddess. Jackals, hyenas or other animals, often spotted, are shown (6, 23, 25-26, 36, 37-38, 41, 44, 57, 64, 70-71, 79?, 93, 100, 108, 111), sometimes looking upwards in the direction of the human head held in one of Cāmuṇḍā's left hands (26, 43, 45 [above the pedestal], 46-49, 52-54, 61-62, **Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 2**).<sup>31</sup>

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Additionally, **skeletons or corpses** may be depicted (44, 64, 71, 91-92, 95 [dancing], 100, 106, 108 [dancing], 109, 111), occasionally devoured by animals such as jackals or hyenas and birds (30, 42, 73, 76, 93, 95, 98, 109, 111). **Scattered bones or limbs** are also carved (27, 64, 76, 111). **Crows and vultures** regularly appear (16, 36, 43, 53, 60, 64, 93, 98, 109, 111), sometimes pecking out an eye of a corpse (42, 71, 76). An **owl** (*ulūka, pecaka*) may also be depicted (3, 16?, 25?, 30, 91-93, 95), as well as a **tree** (71, 90 [above the pedestal]; **Plate-XXVI; Fig. 3**), a tree with an attached human head (95), or, in one case, with an animal with round ears in its crown (95), or two trees with a corpse hanging from them (3).<sup>32</sup> Rare examples show a female figure standing in the pose of an archer and holding a *kapāla* and a knife (109), or a similarly depicted male figure with a knife or a snake and *tarjanī* (95). One exception includes a **lion as a vāhana** (39, **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 3**). In one of the seated images a severed human hand serves as the foot-stool of the goddess (27, **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 2**), and in at least two other cases a skull (8, 44). Two sculptures have offerings at the pedestal (39, 70, **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 3**).

Even though Cāmuṇḍā images are rarely inscribed with the donor's names (cf. 30, 70, 73), donors are frequently depicted on the pedestal, either one (23, 25, 36?, 38-39, 42, 51, 53-54, 57, 74, 77, 92, 109, 111; **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 3, Plate-XXVIII, Figs. 1, 2**), or two, usually as a couple (16, 27, 30, 49?, 70, 78, 91, 93, 95; **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 2**), or three (37, 73), or more than three (90, 93). A figure on a horse carrying a garland, perhaps a warrior, may also represent a donor in one image (64).

### Attributes of Cāmuṇḍā images

Regarding the attributes, the most noteworthy feature in comparison with other regions in Central, North and Western India is a tiny pierced human figure on the tip of the *triśūla* (12, 26-27, 36, 39, 41-42, 44, 46-48, 51, 53-54, 62, 64-65, 79-80, 85, 92, 96; **Plate-XXVII, Figs. 2, 3, Plate-XXVIII, Figs. 1, 2**). This detail can be found on images from Bihar and Bengal alike, however, it is more frequently met with on images with less than ten or twelve arms. The twelve-armed images instead may carry a corpse in one of the left hands (83, 90, 91, 95, 96 [in addition to the impaled figure], 99). The pierced figure normally appears as a dead body, however, there is one exception where it is depicted with a raised chest and the hands in *añjali* (27, **Plate-XXVII, Fig. 2**), strongly resembling Andhaka on Śiva's trident in many images (cf., e.g., **Plate-XXV, Fig. 4**). The only difference is that Cāmuṇḍā does not hold the trident diagonally in front of the upper part of her body as Śiva does.

The earliest attributes represented are a knife with a curved blade and a *kapāla*, usually found in the right hands. A few images show the *kapāla* in one of the left hands (2?, 4, 9, 18, 57, 58, 59, 90). The knife may also be replaced by a sword, but otherwise it is only in the two-armed representations that one of these attributes may be omitted. Several

other attributes appear in the pairs of hands, e.g., sword and shield, bow and arrow (not so common: 50, 70, 90, 91), or the elephant hide. Most images with more than four hands hold the elephant hide (**Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3, Plate-XXVII, Fig. 3, Plate-XXVIII, Figs. 1, 2**). Two images show it without being supported by the goddess (37, 43). Sometimes, the elephant skin is replaced by a human skin or human body (52, 81, 80).<sup>33</sup>

The little finger of the main left hand in most images points to the mouth or to the teeth of the goddess. The *triśūla* or *khatvāṅga* is pressed to the inside of the elbow, similar to representations on the images of several esoteric Buddhist deities, e.g., Heruka and Nairātmyā. This gesture is characteristic for Cāmuṇḍā images all over the Northern part of India. It has been called, e.g., “cutting between her teeth the nail of the small-finger” by Bhattacharya (1929: 210), “‘finger licking’ pose” by Joshi 1989, *carcikā* (without explanation of the term) by Donaldson (2002; 2007, especially p. 257), and wrongly “*tarjanī*” by Rahman 1989 and 1998 as well as by Haque 1992. The description of a gesture called *daūṣṭrā(mudrā)* can be found in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, and it corresponds exactly with the images.<sup>34</sup> If one of the left hands is represented resting on the seat, a small snake may also be depicted.

Not very common is the *varadamudrā* (23, 52, 53, 57, 90, 92) and only rarely a *cakra* (61) and an axe (26) may be seen. Two images, presumably from Monghyr district include an owl standard (46, 47). Other exceptions are an *ankuśa* or flag in one of the left hands (78). Several images show a snake (3, 32, 37, 49, 93?, 94, 96), and a bell is also frequently depicted.

Only very few six-armed images have come to light. The rareness of six-armed figures shows a general tendency in Hindu iconography in contrast to Buddhist art, where six-armed deities can often be found.

### Some geographical and chronological aspects

The Dinajpur region (Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur, and Dinajpur district in Bangladesh) seems to have been a stronghold of Cāmuṇḍā worship. It is also the region where several multi-headed and multi-armed Bhairava images have been discovered. The provenance of at least 24 Cāmuṇḍā images can be traced to this region. Numerous other Cāmuṇḍā sculptures were also found in the nearby districts of Rajshahi, Naogaon, and Bogra in Bangladesh. Many of the images show the type of Cāmuṇḍā dancing on the shoulders of a dancing figure, usually above a pedestal with detailed cremation ground scenes and often with offerings of human heads, and with a Bhairava figure at the top of the back slab. This type of iconography can generally be dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.

The trident with an impaled corpse can be found on steles from Bihar and West Bengal, but only rarely in Bangladesh, where a separate corpse may be seen in the hand of the dancing Cāmuṇḍā. Dancing images often belong to the later periods, while seated images

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seem common to both earlier as well as later periods, but more frequent in earlier periods. Many early images of Cāmuṇḍā hail from Bihar and have only two eyes. Sculptures depicting a tree have not yet been discovered in Bihar. A precise chronology of Cāmuṇḍā images remains a task for future research.

### Some final Observations

With regard to the wrathful aspects of *śaiva* and *śākta* deities, the sculptural evidence of Eastern India shows a predominance of Cāmuṇḍā images, most of which certainly did not originate within the context of the *mātrikās*. In contrast, relatively few comparable wrathful Śiva images have been found. Cāmuṇḍā images appropriate Śiva's terrifying attributes, especially from the Andhakāri type, which is also the prototype for the more abstract esoteric Bhairava images, as well as for the Buddhist deities like Cakrasaūvara.<sup>35</sup> Especially noticeable amongst the attributes shared by Andhakāri and Cāmuṇḍā are the elephant hide and the trident with an Andhaka-like figure on the top. At present it is difficult to ascertain precisely when these elements appeared in Cāmuṇḍā iconography. However, it can be determined that they can be found from at least the 9th century onwards. The early popularity of the elephant hide is also supported by its presence in the hands of a wrathful pot-bellied Buddhist goddess, who also carries a *kapāla* and a knife as an attendant of the goddess Tārā in early representations, predominantly from Bihar. Buddhist texts like the *Sādhanamālā* refer to this kind of goddess as Ekajatā without mentioning the elephant hide. Her iconographical relationship with Cāmuṇḍā images was later concealed by omitting the elephant hide from about 1000 AD onwards. In Orissa both the elephant hide and the trident with the human figure appear already in the 8th century according to dates given by Donaldson.<sup>36</sup> The elephant hide was only rarely depicted in other regions besides Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.<sup>37</sup>

With regard to the tiny figure on the *triśūla* the Raktabīja episode may be considered (*Vāmanapurāṇa* 30 and *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, 88). The episode itself is a very brief *śākta* adoption of the Andhaka myth. The name Andhaka was changed to Raktabīja, which is a descriptive name referring to the multiplication of the demon by means of drops of blood. The terrifying goddess slays the demon with the *śūla* as Śiva does with Andhaka, and she drinks the blood before it touches the surface of the earth. Cāmuṇḍā images, however, clearly do not illustrate this, or any kind of legend. In contrast to Andhakāri images that show a *kapāla* in one of Śiva's left hands beneath the pierced Andhaka, Cāmuṇḍā images do not show the blood being prevented from dripping down to the ground. Instead, the *kapāla* is usually seen in the main right hand of the goddess. The action of slaying the demon with the diagonally held lance or trident, as depicted in Andhakāri images, is also not repeated in the Cāmuṇḍā images. The human corpse, on the other hand, looks rather like an additional ornament on the trident. In this context it is also remarkable that Eastern Indian Cāmuṇḍā images in most cases do not

carry a *khatvāṅga* in addition to a trident. A *khatvāṅga* may replace the *triśūla* or a *triśūla* may be adorned with a skull. Thus, the depiction of the *triśūla* with the corpse could also appear instead of a *khatvāṅga*. The visual evidence is insufficient to justify calling the corpse Raktabīja.

A certain group of relatively late Cāmuṇḍā images (11th/12th century) from Northern Bengal are particularly interesting because they present a detail that is not seen in any other part of India. These images usually do not show the Andhaka-like corpse on the trident. Above the goddess a form of Bhairava, mostly Andhakārī is depicted. This can be interpreted in various ways. Most importantly, the representation of Andhakārī suggests that the figure of Cāmuṇḍā should be seen in the mythological context of the Andhaka myth and as part of a larger system of hierarchy. Theoretically, it is possible that the mythological connection was always inherent, even though it was not made clearly apparent. On the other hand, it appears to be more likely that it represents a late attempt to justify the cult of the terrifying goddess and eventually bring her (back) into the context of Śiva as Bhairava. The goddess seems to have actually replaced īīva as Bhairava in the art of Bihar and Bengal, if we take into account the great number of her images, some of which are of an extraordinary workmanship.<sup>38</sup>

## Appendix

Note: The list, which is far from complete, is arranged according to the number of arms, and not chronologically. If the provenance is not indicated, it is not known. Dates have not been discussed and follow those given in the publications. In the iconographical tables the attributes start always with the main hand followed by the lowermost hand and ending with the uppermost one. Variants in the shape of the blade of the knife are not referred to. The term *khatvāṅga-triśūla* is artificial and describes the appearance of the attribute, namely a trident containing a skull between the prongs and the staff. Round brackets indicate a likely reconstruction of a damaged attribute.

### Andhakārī images

- A1 At the entrance of the Koñceśvara brick temple in Konch, Gaya district, Bihar. Ref.: Akhouri 1993: 87-92; Linrothe 1999: 201-202, 212 note 14, figs. 165-166, c. 10th century, with further references. (Plate-XXVI, Fig. 1)
- A2 In the Bhairavanātha Temple (no. 10) in Telkupi, Purulia district, West Bengal; badly worn. Ref.: D. Mitra 1969: 25, pl. XVb; Haque 1992: 172, 394, no. 1765.
- A3 Carved on a rock halfway up the Mandar Hill, Bhagalpur district, Bihar; c. 133 x 90 cm. Ref.: Saran 1977, pl. XXIV; Prasad 1987: 40-41, fig. 2, 7th century(!); Akhouri 1993: 170-171; Chakrabarti 2001: 169.
- A4 Sculptural fragment at Mandar Hill, Bhagalpur district, Bihar. Ref.: Ruben 1939 Tafel XXX, Abb. 57; Chakrabarti 2001 pl. 5.3.

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- A5 From Deul Talandia, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 204); black basalt, 53.3 x 30.5 cm; upper end of the back slab broken. Ref.: Haque 1992: 174, 393, no. 1744, pl. 146; Rahman 1998: 145, no. 380, pl. 144, c. 11th century, with further references.
- A6 Fragment of the pierced Andhaka; VRM (no. 279); black basalt, c. 15 cm high. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 145, no. 382, c. 11th century.
- A7 Cf. Cāmuṇḍā no. 93.
- A8 Cf. Cāmuṇḍā no. 95. (Plate-XXVI, Fig. 2)
- A9 Cf. Cāmuṇḍā no. 96.
- A10 Cf. Cāmuṇḍā no. 113.
- A11 Ten-armed Naṭeśa from Rampal, Dhaka district, Bangladesh; BNM (no. 3. A (ii) a/2). Ref.: Banerji 1933: 113-114, pl. LIIa; Bhattacharji 1929: 113-114, pl. XLIII; Sivaramamurti 1974: 287, 292, fig. 172; Haque 1992: 149-151, 388, no. 1583; Mevissen 2002: 120, note 17 with further references.

### Bhairava images (ten to twelve-armed images)

- Bh1 Inscribed dancing Bhairava from Bairhatta. Cf. Cāmuṇḍā no. 14.
- Bh2 Dancing skeletal Bhairava from Paschim Medinipur district, West Bengal; Asian Art Museum, Berlin (no. I 9724/old IC 37606); coarse-grained sandstone, 58.5 x 37.5 x 15 cm. Ref.: Bautze-Picron 1998: 91, no. 253, fig. on p. 245, with further references.
- Bh3 Fragmentary standing Bhairava with his left leg bent from Madhainagar, Bogra district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 670); sericitized slate, 30.5 x 19 cm. Ref.: Haque 1992: 173, 393, no. 1742, pl. 144; Rahman 1998: 186, no. 485, pl. 181.
- Bh4 Fragmentary dancing Bhairava from Birbhum district, West Bengal; Gurusaday Museum, Kolkata. Ref.: Haque 1992: 173, 349, no. 1759. (Plate-XXVII, Fig. 1)
- Bh5 From Dakshin Dinajpur district, Ashok Nandi Collection(?), Shibbari (no. 36), Gangarampur, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal. The image was photographed by Dr. Gouriswar Bhattacharya in the 1990s. Its present location is uncertain, since it was not among the images of the Ashok Nandi Collection when I visited the place in February 2009, and it is not referred to in Ghosh 2006.
- Bh6 Pedestal; Dinajpur Museum (no. unknown), Bangladesh; black basalt, 28.7 x 22.3 cm. Ref.: SiB 2008: 222, no. 269, pl. 248, c. 11th/12th century.
- Bh7 Seated Bhairava from Balurghat, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal; IM (no. N.S. 2247); 90 x 50 cm. Ref.: Sivaramamurti 1950 pl. XXIVd; Haque 1992: 173-174, 349, no. 1758; Linrothe 1999: 301, fig. 221, c. 11th-12th century; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0006705; Mukherjee 2002: 151, no. 671.

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Bh8 Head of Bhairava with three faces; The Cleveland Museum of Art; 21.8 x 19 cm (no. 1958.208).

No.	Arms	Heads	Right arms	Left arms
A1	8	1	<i>triśūla, damaru, axe, sword</i>	<i>triśūla, kapāla, khatvāṅga, bell</i>
A2	8	1	<i>triśūla, axe, -, -</i>	<i>triśūla, -, -, kapāla</i>
A3	10	3	<i>triśūla, ?, arrow, ?, elephant hide</i>	<i>triśūla, pāśa?, bow, shield?, kapāla/elephant hide? (according to Saran 1977: 188 and Prasad 1987: 41)</i>
A4	10	3	<i>(triśūla), -, -, -, sword</i>	<i>(triśūla), -, -, -, -</i>
A5	12	3	<i>triśūla, damaru, knife, cakra without spokes, sword, elephant hide</i>	<i>triśūla, kapāla, snake, bell, shield, elephant hide (according to Haque 1973: 268 and Rahman 1998: 145)</i>
Bh1	10	5	<i>kapāla, varada, triśūla pointing downwards, arrow, sword</i>	<i>khaṭvāṅga-triśūla, snake, tarjanī(?), bow, shield</i>
Bh2	10	3	<i>-, -, (triśūla?), arrow, damaru?</i>	<i>-, (khaṭvāṅga?), head, bow, snake</i>
Bh3	10	3	<i>kapāla, varada, -, -, -</i>	<i>(triśūla?), -, -, -, -</i>
Bh4	12	3	<i>-, -, axe, (damaru?), elephant hide, sword</i>	<i>-, -, -, kapāla, -, elephant hide</i>
Bh5	12	3	<i>abhaya+akṣamālā, arrow, triśūla, ?, sword, elephant hide</i>	<i>(khaṭvāṅga?), pāśa, ?, ?, ?, elephant hide</i>
Bh7	12	1	<i>kapāla, arkuśa, varada, damaru, sword, elephant hide</i>	<i>abhaya, khaṭvāṅga, nāgapāśa, head, shield, elephant hide</i>

### Two-armed Cāmuṇḍās

1. Lintel with Saptamātrikās from Kirtoil, Manda, Naogaon district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 251); black basalt, 50.8 x 19 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 99, *citra* 40, 10th-11th century; Haque 1992: 257, 376, no. 1254; Rahman 1998: 229-230, no. 584, pl. 225, c. 9th century, with further references.
2. From Gopinathpur, Akkelpur, Joypurhat district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 3251); sericitized slate, 41.9 x 29.2 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 80-81, *citra* 33, 10th-11th century; Rahman 1998: 226-227, pl. 223, c. 10th century, with further references.
3. From Bangladesh; National Museum, Karachi, Pakistan;. Ref.: Shah 2006-07: 205-206, pl. 18.2, 10th century.
4. Amongst the group of four mātrikās and other deities attending a four-armed esoteric

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goddess seated in front of two intertwined triangles; from West Bengal; Balurghat College Museum; 53 x 25 cm, c. 11th century.

5. Amongst the army of Māra in a Māravijaya scene, probably from Lakhi Sarai, Bihar; private collection; 47 x 42 cm. Ref.: Bautze-Picron 1996: 125-126, figs. 18, 21.

### Four-armed Cāmuṇḍās

6. From Raghurampur, Dhaka district, Bangladesh; BNM (no. 3. B. (ii) h/2); 5 x 10.2 cm; upper part missing. Ref.: Bhattacharji 1929: 212; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1317.
7. Lintel with Saptamāṭrkās and Viñādhara; BM (no. 1872,0701.113); basalt, 14 x 47,9 cm. Ref.: Chanda 1972: 68; G. Bhattacharya 2001: fig. 1, c. 9th century.
8. Lintel with Saptamāṭrkās and Viñādhara ("mahādevah") from Bihar; IM (no. 4190); 28 x 94 cm. The name of each deity has been inscribed beneath it; the last māṭrkā of which is called cāmuṇḍī. Ref.: Banerji 1933: 117, pl. LXIII(a); Mukherjee 2002: 140, no. 460.
9. Lintel with Saptamāṭrkās and Viñādhara from Bihar; IM (no. 4191); 31 x 72 cm. The head of Cāmuṇḍā is lost. Ref.: Mukherjee 2002: 140, no. 461.
10. Lintel with Saptamāṭrkās and Viñādhara from Guneri, Gaya district, Bihar; Bodhgaya Site Museum; c. 20.3 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0003943 (1970).
11. Inscribed Lintel with Saptamāṭrkās and Viñādhara from Nalanda, Nalanda district, Bihar; State Museum, Lucknow (no. H.34); black basalt, 61 x 26 cm. Ref.: Shastri 1925 pl. I(b); Joshi 1989/II.2: 118-119, pl. 41, 8th-9th century; AIIS acc. no. 12022; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0004460 (1970).
12. Lintel with Saptamāṭrkās and Viñādhara from Patna district, Bihar; Los Angeles County Museum of Art (no. M.71.110.2); 15.24 x 38.1 cm. Ref.: Pal 1974: 46, cat. 7, pl. on p. 10; Pal 1988: 166-167, cat. 74.
13. Lintel with Mahiśāsuramardinī flanked by Saptamāṭrkās and one additional māṭrkā from Jugpur, Godagari, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 7); sand stone, 33 x 106 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 95-96, *citra* 41; Haque 1992: 258, 376, no. 1255; Rahman 1998: 229 no. 583, pl. 224; G. Bhattacharya 2003: 222, fig. 20; *SiB* 2008: 165, no. 90, pl. 385, 10th century, with further references.
14. Amongst the māṭrkās as attending deities of a dancing Bhairava from Bairhatta (label: Jagnail), Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal; IM (no. 72/2); 120 x 47 cm; inscribed. All māṭrkās hold a kapāla. Ref.: IA 1975-76: 90, pl. LXVIIb; Bautze-Picron 1990, figs. 1-5, 11th-12th century; Haque 1992: 173, 394, no. 1766, pl. 145; Linrothe 1999: 300, fig. 220; Mukherjee 2002: 155, no. 758.

15. In Guwahati, Assam; sculpture to the right of the door of a small shrine near Kāmākhyā Temple. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0015783, 0015781 (1984).
16. In Guwahati, Assam; sculpture to the left of the door of a small shrine near Kāmākhyā Temple. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0015782, 0015781 (1984).
17. On a seal from Nalanda, Bihar; Nalanda Site Museum (no. S. 9, R. IA); inscribed with *kālīgrāmakīyajanapada*. Ref.: Banerjea 1956: 186-187, pl. X, fig. 11.
18. In Apsadh, Gaya district, Bihar; c. 76.2 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0003380 (1970).
19. From Bihar; IM (no. 3942); 65 x 36 cm; upper end of the back slab damaged. Ref.: Mukherjee 2002: 135, no. 373; *Land of Spirituality* 2003: 126-127.
20. Architectural element; VRM (no. 90.78); sandstone, 27 x 42 x 14 cm. Ref.: *SiB* 2008: 189, no. 156, pl. 391.
21. In Maheshvarpasha, Daulatpur, Khulna district; a snake in the uppermost hands(?). Ref.: ASIAR 1922-23: 112; Haque 1992: 270, 377, no. 1287.
22. Probably from eastern Bangladesh; Chittagong University Museum (no. 660); sandstone, 31.8 x 14 cm, Ref.: *SiB* 2008: 293, no. 503, pl. 397, c. 10th century.
23. From Itahar, Uttar Dinajpur district, West Bengal; SAM (no. 05.235); sandstone, c. 63.5 cm high. Ref.: Haque 1992: 270-271, 377, no. 1288, pl. 215; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0006042 (1970), c. 9th century.

#### Six-armed Cāmundās (4 images + 8 uncertain images)

24. In SAM (no. 01.126; alternative no. D2266). Ref.: To be published in the forthcoming catalogue of the Museum.
25. From Dinajpur district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 280); 22.8 x 14 cm; inscribed with the name of the deity *carccikā*. Ref.: Banerji 1933 pl. LVIII(c); Rahmān 1989: 81, *citra* 34, 12th century; Haque 1992: 271-272, 377, no. 1292, pl. 217; Rahman 1998: 222 no. 567, pl. 217, c. 11th century, with further references; Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0013117, 0013118 (1984).
26. Architectural element from Bihar; BM (Bridge Collection, no. 1872,0701.85); basalt, width: 23 cm.
27. From Bihar; Asutosh Museum (no. 699); c. 47 cm high; upper part of the back slab damaged. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0006332 (1970). (**Plate-XXVII, Fig. 2**)
28. From Nalanda, Nalanda district, Bihar; Nalanda Site Museum; grey stone, c. 10.16 cm high. Ref.: AIIS acc. no. 2150; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0003545 (1970).
29. Barabar Hills, Gaya district, Bihar; inside Śiva Mandir on Surjan Giri; c. 51 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0004203, 0004224 (1969).

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30. From Gangarampur, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal; Museum and Art Gallery, University of Burdwan, Rajbati, Burdwan (no. G/SI2/91); 49 x 24 cm. inscription on pedestal. Ref.: Chattopadhyay & Jana 2001: 20-21, no. 49, pl. 5(b), described as four-armed; AIIS acc. no. 3276.
31. In the Ajit Das Agarwala Collection, Old Malda, West Bengal; sandstone, 45 x 28 cm. Ref.: M. Bhattacharya 2002: 56, pl. XX.2.
32. Fragment from Dharampur, Dinajpur district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 158); black basalt, 35.6 x 20.3 cm; head of the goddess damaged, pedestal lost. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1321; Rahman 1998: 220, no. 563, c. 12th century, with further references.
33. Padumshahar, Deopara, Godagari, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 334); black basalt, 22.8 x 10.2 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 82; Haque 1992: 271-272, 377, no. 1291; Rahman 1998: 222-223 no. 568, pl. 218, c. 8th century, with further references.
34. From Jordighi (according to Haque), West Dinajpur district, West Bengal; SAM; lower part of the image not preserved. Ref.: Haque 1992: 271-272, 377, no. 1293; IA 1961-62: 107.
35. Fragment of the upper part showing at least six arms from Keur village, Bihar(?); black stone, c. 30.5 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0003393 (1970).

### Eight-armed Cāmunda images

36. Raiganj Police Station, Uttar Dinajpur district, West Bengal; from illicit traders. Ref.: M. Bhattacharya 2001: 246-247, pls. 13.2-4; Ghosh 2006-07: 343, pl. 28.7.
37. From Raiganj, West Bengal; Akshaya Kumar Maitreya Heritage Museum, University of North Bengal (Darjeeling); black basalt, 11th century. Ref.: <http://www.nbu.ac.in/museum.html>.
38. In the house of a villager in Salanpur near Karandighi, Uttar Dinajpur district, West Bengal; black basalt, 70 x 38 x 8 cm. Ref.: Chakrabarti 2001: 79.
39. From Dinajpur district, West Bengal; Malda District Museum (no. RCM-1; S-84); 41 x 26 cm. Ref.: M. Bhattacharyya 1982: 30, c. 11th century. (**Plate-XXVII, Fig. 3**)
40. Fragment; Malda District Museum (no. unknown); greyish stone, 40 x 13 x 5 cm; only two arms preserved with sword and *trisūla*. Ref.: Chakrabarti 2001: 85, no. 14.
41. From Bihar (perhaps rather from Bengal?); present location unknown; 57.2 cm high. Ref.: Christie's New York, 17 Sept. 1998: 34, lot 28, 10th-11th century.
42. In Balurghat College Museum, West Bengal; 76 x 39 cm. (**Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 1**)

43. From Bardhaman, West Bengal; Asutosh Museum (no. 564 [on the sculpture], T. 7021 in Haque 1992, sc. 489.5866 in Goswami 1981); 58.4 cm high. Ref.: IA 1960-61: 70, pl. LXXXI(D); Goswami 1981: 6, 13, no. 28, c. 10th century; Haque 1992: 272, 378, no. 1297; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0006292 (1970).
44. From Eastern India; present location unknown; phyllite, 74 cm high. Ref.: Christie's Amsterdam 18 Oct., 2005, lot 39, 12th century.
45. From Advahati (according to AIIS), Bardhaman district, West Bengal; Museum and Art Gallery, University of Burdwan, Rajbati, Burdwan (no. no. GIS/1190); 52 x 33 cm. Ref.: Chattopadhyay & Jana 2001: 21, no. 50, pl. 6(a); AIIS acc. no. 32782.
46. Possibly from Monghyr district, Bihar (according to Bautze-Picron); BM (no. 1872,0701.87); basalt, 46.5 cm high. Ref.: Bautze Picron 1987: 539-540, no. 5.
47. Possibly from Monghyr district, Bihar (according to Bautze-Picron); BM (no. 1872,0701.86; in the exhibition); basalt, 44.4 cm high. Ref.: Bautze-Picron 1987: 539, no. 4; <http://tinyurl.com/BMCamunda2>.
48. Architectural element from Monghyr district, Bihar; Patna Museum (no. 82); grey stone, c. 66 cm high. Ref.: Banerji 1933 pl. LVIII(b); Gupta 1965: 73, no. 101; AIIS acc. no. 7943; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0002607 (1969).
49. In the Kṛṣṇadvārika Temple, Gaya, Bihar. Ref.: drawing published in Martin 1838, pl. VIII, fig. 2, opposite p. 90, drawn as a male deity.
50. From Nalanda, Nalanda district, Bihar; Nalanda Site Museum; c. 11.5 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0003583 (1970), c. 9th/10th century. For other brahmanical images of a similar workmanship from Nalanda cf. Bose 1985.
51. In Sūrya temple, Bargaon, Nalanda district, Bihar; c. 61 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0003761 (1970).
52. From Nashipur, Dinajpur district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 2548); black basalt, 48.3 x 28 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 82, *citra* 35, 9th century; Haque 1992: 377, no. 1294, pl. 218; Rahman 1998: 226, no. 576, pl. 222, c. 9th century, with further references; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0013063 (1984).
53. From Balandar, Biral, Dinajpur district, Bangladesh; Dinajpur Museum (no. 80); 99 x 61 cm. Ref.: SiB 2008: 220, no. 259, pl. 394, c. 11th/12th century, with further references. **(Plate-XXVIII, Fig. 2)**
54. From Harsinghpur, Darbhanga district(?), Bihar; Patna Museum (no. Arch.10890); grey stone, c. 56 cm high. Ref.: D.C. Bhattacharyya 1991 pl. 59; AIIS acc. no. 37904; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0002686 (1969), 10th century.

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55. From Alipur, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; Mahasthan Museum (no. 29). Ref.: Haque 1992: 272, 377, no. 1296.
56. In Dandesvar, Birbhum district, West Bengal; eroded. Ref.: Haque 1992: 272, 378, no. 1298 with further references.
57. In Kashipara, Sherpur, Bogra district, Bangladesh. Ref.: B.C. Bhattacharya 1921: 41-42, pl. XXVI; Haque 1992: 272-273, 377, no. 1295.
58. From Bihar; Russek collection, Switzerland; 80 cm high. Ref.: Russek 1986: 42, no. 33, 10th century.
59. In F.D. Institute, Jalpaiguri, 57.5 x 29 cm. Ref.: P.K. Bhattacharyya 1983: 37, 38, 49 note 69.
60. From West Bengal; SAM (no. 05.155), c. 10th century. Ref.: Haque 1992 no. 1326(?).
61. From Rajaona and Choki, Monghyr district, Bihar; IM (no. 4567); 131 x 61 cm. Ref.: Mukherjee 2002: 146, no. 574.
62. From Bihar(?); IM (no. N.S. 1 = 3948?); 59 x 41 cm(?). Ref.: Mukherjee 2002: 136, no. 379(?).
63. Lower half; in Narada Museum, Nawada, Bihar. Ref.: <http://nawada.bih.nic.in/Nawada%20Museum%20PhotGallery.htm>.
64. From Bengal; Russek Collection Switzerland; 58 cm high. Ref.: Russek 1986; 40-42, no. 32, c. 11th century.
65. In National Museum, Scotland (no. A.1956.574); chlorite; 9th-10th century. Ref. <http://tiny.cc/ScotlandCamunda>.
66. Upper half from West Bengal; Dakshin Dinajpur District Museum, Balurghat, West Bengal.
67. Fragment of the upper part from West Bengal; Dakshin Dinajpur District Museum, Balurghat, West Bengal.
68. Inside Kālī Temple of the Viṣṇu temple complex in Kanchannagar, Bardhaman, Bardhaman district, West Bengal.

### Ten-armed Cāmuṇḍā images

69. Fragment from Bogra district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 96); black basalt, 33 x 22.8 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 76-77, *citra* 30; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1305; Rahman 1998: 219, no. 561, pl. 214, c. 11th century, with further references; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0013047 (1984).
70. In the Archaeological Museum, Vikramashila (no. 990), Bhagalkot district, Bihar; lime stone; inscription on the pedestal containing the name of a donor (*dānapati*).

71. From Mahatore, Kushmandi, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal; VRM (no. 561); black basalt, 58.4 x 28 cm. Ref.: Saraswati 1932: 190 (also referred to in Chakrabarti 2001: 90); Rahmān 1989: 78, *citra* 31; Haque 1992: 273, 378, no. 1301, pl. 219; Rahman 1998: 224 no. 571, pl. 219, c. 11th century; *SiB* 2008: 168, pl. 388, c. 11th century, with further references; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0013062 (1984).   
**(Plate-XXVI, Fig. 3)**
72. Fragment of the upper part from Biral, Dinajpur district, Bangladesh; Dinajpur Museum (no. 46); 25.4 x 22.9 cm. Ref.: Gail 2008: 77, fig. 1; *SiB* 2008: 217-218, no. 247, pl. 393, c. 11th/12th century, with further references.
73. From Thalta, Majgram, Bogra district, Bangladesh; Mahasthan Museum (no. A-1263); 62 x 28 cm. The inscriptions on the back slab and on pedestal have not been noticed so far. Unfortunately, it can not be read on the available photographs. Ref.: Mostafizur Rahman 2000: 206, pl. 5.16; *SiB* 2008: 258, no. 383, pl. 396, c. 10th/11th century.
74. From Dighapatia, Natore district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 33); black basalt; 48.3 x 22.8 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 77, 12th century; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1299; Rahman 1998: 219, no. 560, pl. 213, c. 10th century, with further references; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0013061.
75. From Amsho, Tanor, Rajshahi district; VRM (no. 255); black basalt, 40.6 x 45.8 cm; upper, lower and left portions broken. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 77-78; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1300; Rahman 1998: 221-222, no. 566, c. 12th century, with further references.
76. From West Bengal, probably Dhaka district (according to Bautze-Picron 1998: 97, note 75); National Museum, New Delhi (no. 63.939); c. 65.4 x 33.7 cm. Ref.: Sharma 1969: 420-421, fig. 12; Keilhauer 1983: 204-205, fig. 145; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1303; Bunce 2000/III pl. XXIV; Van der Geer 2008: 154, fig. 168; AIIS acc. no. 6347; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0000308 (1969), c. 12th century.
77. In Ashok Nandi Collection, Shibbari, Gangarampur, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal. Ref.: Chakrabarti 2001: 82, no. 1; Ghosh 2006: 56, no. 5; Ghosh 2006-07: 342.
78. In the Viṣṇu temple complex in Kanchannagar, Bardhaman, Bardhaman district, West Bengal; found in the river-bed of the Damodor river after the flood in 1923; locally called Kaṅkaleśvarī. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1307; <http://bardhaman.gov.in/photo/kali.htm>; <http://tiny.cc/Kanchannagar>.
79. In Bengkadi, Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1308.
80. Upper part; Dakshin Dinajpur District Museum, Balurghat, West Bengal.

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81. Inside Kālibārī in Betna, Harirampur, Dakshin Dinajpur district; sandstone; lower part buried; 41 x 21 cm. Ref.: Saraswati 1932: 194, pl. 9, fig. 3; Haque 1992: 273, 378, no. 1302; M. Bhattacharya 2002: 57, pl. XX.6.
82. Fragment; Dinajpur Museum (no. unknown); black basalt, 41.8 x 26.4 cm. Ref.: *SiB* 2008: 222, no. 268, pl. 395, c. 10th/11th century.
83. Left half from Dhorsha, Bagmara, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 148); black basalt, 71.2 x 25.4 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 77; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1304; Rahman 1998: 220, no. 562, c. 11th century, with further references.
84. Fragment of a pedestal showing śavavāhana from Bamangola, Malda district, West Bengal; Malda District Museum (no. RCM-2); 30 x 41 cm. Ref.: M. Bhattacharyya 1982: 30.
85. From Badarpur, West Dinajpur district [=Badalpur, Dakshin Dinajpur(?)], West Bengal; Akshaya Kumar Maitreya Museum, University of North Bengal, Raja Rammohanpur, Darjeeling (no. 28/p.28 AR I); sandstone, 40.3 x 20.5 cm; effaced. Ref.: AKMM 1981: 10, no. 29, c. 11th century; P.K. Bhattacharyya 1983: 37-38, no. 28; M. Bhattacharya 2002: 57.
86. In Mankur, Howrah district, West Bengal. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1306.
87. In Atbaichandigram, Bankura district, West Bengal. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1309.
88. At Bāghā muzrā Dighi in Jagadalla, Dakshin Dinajpur district. Ref.: Saraswati 1932: 190, 194; Haque 1992 no. 1310.
89. In Jhalaka, Birbhum district, West Bengal. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1311 with further references.

### Twelve-armed Cāmundās

90. From Rampal, Vikrampur, Munshiganj district, Bangladesh; BNM (no. 33); blackstone, 76 x 38 cm. Ref.: Bhattasali 1929: 211-212, pl. LXXI(b); Haque 1963: 42, 49, fig. (b); Haque 1992: 273, 378, no. 1312, pl. 220; M. Bhattacharyya 1999, fig. 7; G. Bhattacharya 2003: 222, fig. 21; *Chefs-d'œuvre* 2007: 266-267, cat. 103; *SiB* 2008: 138, no. 29, pl. 387, c. 11th century; Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0058416, 0013478, 0013477, 0013476 (1984).
91. From Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; Carol F. Music Collection; 58.4 x 28 x 5 cm. Ref.: Huntington/Huntington 1990: 149-150, no. 24, c. 11th century.
92. From Mandoil, Godagari, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 253). Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 81; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1313, pl. 221; Rahman 1998: 221 no. 565, pl. 216, c. 11th century, with further references; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0013049 (1984).

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93. From Deopara, Godagari, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 355); sandstone, 116.9 x 58.4 cm; eroded. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 78; Haque 1992: 273, 378, no. 1314; Rahman 1998: 223, no. 569, c. 10th century, with further references; *SiB* 2008: 180, no. 132, pl. 390, c. 10th century; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0013064 (1984).
94. Fragment of the upper half from Agradigun, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal; Asutosh Museum (no. 901; 178); c. 12th century, c. 20 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0006298 (1970).
95. From Niyamatpur, Naogaon district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 1585); 127 x 61 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 79-80, *citra* 32; Haque 1992: 274, 378, no. 1316; Rahman 1998: 225-226, no. 575, pl. 221, with further references; M. Bhattacharya 2002: 57, pl. XX.5; *SiB* 2008: 180, no. 131, pl. 389, c. 12th century, with further references. (Plate-XXVI, Fig. 2)
96. From Bengal; 36 x 53 cm, pedestal missing; present location unknown. Ref.: Koller *Asiatica* 52/3, 24.-26.5.84, lot 74.
97. Khulna Museum, Bangladesh; eroded.
98. From West Bengal; Los Angeles County Museum of Art (no. M.90.166); 60.96 x 27.31 x 8.89 cm, 11th century. Ref.: Donaldson 2007: 258-259, fig. 305; <http://tinyurl.com/LACMA-Camunda>.
99. From Manoharpur, Naogaon district, Bangladesh; VRM (no. 489); black basalt, 81.3 x 45.7 cm; right hands and lower part not preserved. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 78-79, 10th century; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1315 with wrong acc. no. 486, with further references; Rahman 1998: 223, no. 570, c. 12th century.
100. Fragment from Naogaon district (Rahmān 1989), Bangladesh; VRM (no. 1552); 87.6 x 54.6 cm. Ref.: Rahmān 1989: 79; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1320, with further references; Rahman 1998: 225, no. 574, c. 11th century.

**Fragmentary images of Cāmuṇḍā, or no description available**

101. In a thatched shrine in Mainaguri, Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal. Ref.: P.K. Bhattacharyya 1983: 37, 49 note 70.
102. Fragment in Santa, Bogra district, Bangladesh. Ref.: Haque 1992 no. 1322, with further references.
103. Fragment in Jugirbhavan, Bogra district, Bangladesh. Ref.: ASIAR 1932-34: 75; Haque 1992: 379, no. 1328.
104. Fragment from Nawabganj district, Bangladesh; BNM. Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1318.
105. Fragment from West Dinajpur district, West Bengal; SAM. Ref.: IA 1961-62: 107;

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Haque 1992: 378, no. 1327. It is not clear if it is identical with one of the other sculptures mentioned above.

106. Pedestal showing a corpse and an owl; VRM (no. 5411; 87.311); black basalt, 27.6 x 17.3 cm. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 228, no. 582, c. 11th century.
107. Fragment of the lower part with dancing “goblin”; VRM (no. 5405; 87.305); black basalt, 26.4 x 28.4 cm. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 227, no. 579, c. 12th century.
108. Fragment of the lower left part; VRM (no. 5404; 87.304); black basalt, 38 x 22 cm. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 227, no. 578, c. 12th century.
109. Lower part with pedestal, attendants and lower end of the elephant hide from Burania, Bogra district, Bangladesh; BNM (no. 69.137). Ref.: Haque 1992: 378, no. 1319; Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0013553, 0013550, 0013551 (1984).
110. Fragment of the lower part in Dharol, Dhaka district, Bangladesh. Ref.: Saraswati 1932: 185-186; Haque 1992 no. 1324. Since one of the *mātrikās* is Cāmuṇḍā, the fragment may be of a Bhairava image.
111. Fragment of the lower part from Jemo, Kandi, Murshidabad district, West Bengal; Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parīṣat Museum, Kolkata (no. J (b)I/345; 177); 30.5 x 25.4 cm. Ref.: Ganguly 1922: 83-84; Majumdar 1943: 455, note 2; Haque 1992: 270, no. 1325=no. 1286?.
112. Fragment from the lower left part showing a leg of the elephant hide and an attendant; Dinajpur Museum, Bangladesh (no. unknown); 38.3 x 22.6 cm. Ref.: SiB 2008: 216, no. 240, pl. 392, c. 10th/11th century.
113. Fragment from the upper part showing the damaged head of the goddess and her sword; VRM (no. 5406; 87.306); black basalt, 24.2 x 35.8 cm. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 227-228, no. 580, c. 12th century.
114. Fragment of a snake(?) as an attribute of Cāmuṇḍā; VRM (no. 1283); black basalt, 17 x 10.2 cm. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 224, no. 572, c. 11th century.
115. Bust of the goddess in Dharol, Dakshin Dinajpur district, West Bengal. Ref.: Saraswati 1932: 186; Haque 1992: 378, no. 1323.
116. Fragment of the upper part showing at least six arms, provenance unknown (according to the Huntington Archive from Agradigun, South Dinajpur district); Asutosh Museum (no. 902; 248); black stone, c. 20 cm high. Ref.: Huntington Archive, scan no. 0006303 (1970), c. 12th century.
117. Head of the goddess from Monghyr district, Bihar; Asian Art Museum, Berlin (no. I 5818); phyllite, 26.5 x 18 x 11 cm. Ref.: Bautze-Picron 1998: 86, 240, no. 239, fig. on p. 148, 11th-12th century.
118. Head of the goddess; Dakshin Dinajpur District Museum, Balurghat, West Bengal.

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119. Head of the goddess, VRM (no. 5408; 87.308); black basalt, 23.5 cm high. Ref.: Rahman 1998: 228, no. 581, c. 11th century.

No.	Arms	Right hands	Left hands
1.	2	<i>kapāla</i>	resting on seat
2.	2	knife	( <i>kapāla</i> or severed head?)
3.	2	head	snake
4.	2	knife	<i>kapāla</i>
5.	2	knife	head (devouring)
6.	2-4?	knife, -	on left knee, -
7.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i>
8.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>triśūla</i> ?	hand resting on seat, <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> ?
9.	4	?, knife	<i>kapāla</i> , -
10.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	<i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat
11.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth+ <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> - <i>triśūla</i> , ?
12.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat
13.	4	?, sword	?, ?
14.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	<i>khaṭvāṅga</i> - <i>triśūla</i> , head
15.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	<i>triśūla</i> , head
16.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	<i>triśūla</i> or <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> (upper part missing), head
17.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , sword	<i>knife</i> , <i>triśūla</i>
18.	4	?, knife	<i>kapāla</i> with lid, <i>triśūla</i>
19.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat
20.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat
22.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , knife	<i>khaṭvāṅga</i> , ?
23.	4	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>varada</i> , elephant hide (not in hand)	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat, elephant hide (not in hand)
24.	4-6	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>triśūla</i> ?	resting on seat, ?
25.	6	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, sword	<i>khaṭvāṅga</i> - <i>triśūla</i> , head, shield

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26.	6	<i>kapāla</i> , axe, knife	pointing to the mouth + <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, bell
27.	6	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>ḍamaru</i>	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head
28.	6	<i>kapāla</i> , sword, knife	pointing to the mouth + <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> , head, <i>triśūla</i>
29.	6-8	?, <i>kapāla</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth, resting on seat, ?
30.	6?	( <i>kapāla</i> ?), knife?, <i>ḍamaru</i>	pointing to the mouth + <i>triśūla</i> , -, head
31.	6?	<i>kapāla</i> , ?, <i>ḍamaru</i>	<i>triśūla</i> , ?, ?
32.	6-?	-, -, -	(pointing to the mouth) + <i>triśūla</i> ?, snake, head
33.	6-8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, ( <i>triśūla</i> ?), head or bell, (elephant hide)
34.	6-8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>ḍamaru</i> , (elephant hide?)	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , head, (elephant hide?) (according to Haque)
35.	6-8?	<i>kapāla</i> ?, -, knife?	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , ?, ?
36.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>ḍamaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse?, head, elephant hide
37.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>triśūla</i> ?, sword, elephant hide without supporting it	<i>khaṭvāṅga-triśūla</i> , resting on seat, ?, snake, elephant hide without supporting it
38.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>ḍamaru</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , head, elephant hide
39.	8	( <i>kapāla</i> ), knife, <i>ḍamaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, elephant hide
41.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>ḍamaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>khaṭvāṅga-triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, elephant hide
42.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>ḍamaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, elephant hide

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43.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , sword, elephant hide without supporting it	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , head, ?, elephant hide
44.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth+ <i>khatvāṅga</i> - <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, elephant hide
45.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife?, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat, head, elephant hide
46.	8	( <i>kapāla</i> ?), owl standard, knife?, <i>damaru</i>	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, bell
47.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , owl standard, <i>damaru</i> , knife	pointing to the mouth + <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, bell
48.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , ?, sword, knife	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, shield
49.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>triśūla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i>	pointing to the mouth+ <i>khatvāṅga</i> , head, bell?, snake
51.	8	-, -, -, -	(pointing to the mouth)+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, -, -, -
52.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>varada</i> , knife, human skin	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat, head, human skin
53.	8	( <i>kapāla</i> ?), <i>varada</i> , -, elephant hide	(pointing to the mouth)+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, elephant hide
54.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, elephant hide
55.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>damaru</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , shield, elephant hide (according to Haque)
57.	8	<i>varada</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth + <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, <i>kapāla</i> , elephant hide

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58.	8	sword, small knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , <i>kapāla</i> , head+ <i>tarjanī</i> , elephant hide
59.	8	-, knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , <i>kapāla</i> , corpse, elephant hide
50.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, sword, arrow from quiver	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> , resting on seat, bow, shield
60.	8-10	<i>kapāla</i> , -, -, -,	pointing to the mouth+( <i>triśūla</i> ), head, -
61.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , hammer or human leg?, <i>cakra</i> , knife?	resting on seat + snake, head, bell, <i>triśūla</i>
62.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , ?, sword, knife	pointing to the mouth + <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, bell
63.	8-10	<i>kapāla</i> , -, sword, -	resting on seat, head, <i>triśūla</i> - <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> ?, bell
64.	8-10	( <i>kapāla</i> ?), <i>damaru</i> , knife?, -	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, -
65.	8	<i>kapāla</i> , sword, knife, <i>damaru</i>	pointing to the mouth+ <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, bell
66.	8-10	<i>kapāla</i> , -, knife, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth(+ <i>triśūla</i> ?), -, -, elephant hide
67.	8-10	<i>kapāla</i> ?, knife, sword, (elephant hide?)	-, -, -, -
68.	8?	?, ?, ?, sword	?, ?, ?, ?
69.	10 ?	<i>kapāla</i> , -, -, -, (elephant hide)	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , head, -, elephant hide
70.	10	?, ?, arrow?, elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth+ <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> , knife, bow, elephant hide, (shield?)
71.	10	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , head, shield, elephant hide
72.	10	( <i>kapāla</i> ), -, -, sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , -, shield, elephant hide

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73.	10	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>khaṭvāṅga-triśūla</i> , head, shield, elephant hide
74.	10	<i>kapāla?</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , head, shield, elephant hide
75.	10	<i>knife</i> , <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , - , - , - (according to Rahman 1998: 222)
76.	10	( <i>kapāla?</i> ), knife, ?, elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth, ( <i>triśūla</i> ), head, shield, elephant hide
77.	10	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , sword?, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , head, shield, elephant hide
78.	10	<i>triśūla</i> , knife, <i>kapāla</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, head, ?, ?, elephant hide
79.	10	- , - , ?, ?, elephant hide	(pointing to the mouth) + <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, resting on seat, head, bell, elephant hide
80.	10-12	- , - , - , <i>damaru</i> , human skin	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, - , - , human skin
81.	10	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, sword, <i>damaru</i> , human skin	pointing to the mouth+ <i>khaṭvāṅga-triśūla</i> , resting on seat, head, shield, human skin
82.	10	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide, sword	- , - , - , - , -
83.	10-12	- , - , - , - , -	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , corpse, shield, elephant hide
90.	12	sword or <i>triśūla?</i> , <i>varada</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide, arrow from quiver	pointing to the mouth, <i>khaṭvāṅga-triśūla</i> , corpse, <i>kapāla</i> , bow, elephant hide
91.	12	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, ?, (arrow?), sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , corpse, bow, shield, elephant hide
92.	12	<i>kapāla</i> , <i>varada</i> , knife, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, head, bell, shield, elephant hide

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93.	12	<i>kapāla</i> , knife?, snake?, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> ?, head, bell, elephant hide, shield
94.	12	?, knife, snake, <i>damaru</i> , sword, elephant hide	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> ?, -, - , -, -
95.	12	( <i>kapāla</i> ?), ?, snake, ?, elephant hide, (sword?)	pointing to the mouth, <i>triśūla</i> , corpse, bell, shield, elephant hide
96.	12	<i>kapāla</i> , knife, snake, <i>damaru</i> , elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth, <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> - <i>triśūla</i> with pierced corpse, corpse, bell, shield, elephant hide
98.	12	<i>kapāla</i> , ?, ?, knife, elephant hide, sword	pointing to the mouth, <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> - <i>triśūla</i> , bell, ?, elephant hide, shield
99.	12	-, -, -, -, -, -	(pointing to the mouth?), <i>triśūla</i> , corpse, bell, shield, elephant hide
100.	12	-, -, snake, -, -, -	pointing to the mouth, head, bell, shield, elephant hide

### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr. Gouriswar Bhattacharya for generously sharing his photographs, and to Gerd Mevissen for many important references and a fruitful discussion. I also would like to thank the curators of several sculptural collections in West Bengal for their kind assistance, especially Dr. Anasua Sengupta of the Indian Museum, Kolkata. Finally, I thank Vandana Nadkarni for helping with the English corrections.

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### Notes

1. In fact a group of goddesses with many names and many forms. For convenience sake, the name Cāmuṇḍā will be used.
2. Early representations in stone from the 6th-7th centuries show the lance (*sūla*), while from the 8th century onwards the trident (*triśūla*) was depicted.
3. In Dravidian art, the dancing Śiva in front of the elephant hide (Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti, Gajāri) was regularly depicted from the 8th century onwards. Thus, the elephant hide becomes a prominent feature in North Indian Andhakāri sculptures as well as in South Indian Gajāri sculptures. In Karnataka and in the later art of Maharashtra both iconographic types can be found, however, the depictions of Andhakāri do not have the elephant hide, since it was considered an attribute of Gajāri. Northern Indian images showing an elephant hide and not the impaled demon Andhaka, are very rare, and they are closely related to the Andhakāri type. The most famous one of these is found in the Kailāsa temple in Ellora (cave 16, east wall of the *vṛṣabhamāṇḍapa*), with two other typical examples hailing from Gwalior and two from Kashmir. All of these can be dated to not later than the 8th-10th centuries. Three younger sculptures from Bengal will be referred to in this article. Additionally, a locally limited sub-group of dancing Śiva images (Nāṭeśa) with an elephant hide, has been found mainly in the Chattisgarh region.
4. In the context of the article, Bengal refers to West Bengal and Bangladesh.
5. An exception is the two-armed image of Śiva from Birbhum district, West Bengal, now kept in the Gurusaday Museum, Kolkata. Here Śiva displays *abhayamudrā*, and the trident is missing, while the *utpala* is held in Pārvatī's left hand (instead of the mirror). In some images, most of which are from Bihar, the *utpala* is replaced by a *kapāla*. Additionally, in Bengal an *akṣamālā* may be rarely depicted. For Umāmaheśvara images from Bihar

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and Bengal cf., e.g., Haque 1992: 153-160 and Donaldson 2007: 407-410, 424-430. In contemporary Central Indian images, Śiva often holds the trident and a cobra.

6. Most images of Sadāśiva originated in North Bengal and date to the 12th century. Cf. H. Mitra 1933 and Haque 1992: 143-146. For Natesa cf. Sivaramamurti 1974: 289-195 and Haque 1992: 146-153.
7. E.g., Kälāri, Tripurāntaka and the destroyer of Dakṣa's sacrifice Vīrabhadra. The popularity of Andhakāri images is also reflected in the length and number of the narrative versions in the Purāṇas.
8. This is a result of a detailed study of the numerous versions of the Andhaka myth in the Purāṇas. Cf. also Melzer 2007: 23.
9. Pārvatī is similarly shown in South Indian representations of Gajāri.
10. The earliest examples of śaiva deities already show the threatening aspect, but in most cases it is confined to one face of a four-faced Śivaliṅga or of a multi-headed image. An exceptional Gupta terracotta tile from Ahichchhatra depicts, probably in a narrative context, a four-armed aggressive śaiva deity (National Museum New Delhi, no. 62.241, cf. Kreisel 1986, fig. A 28, Huntington Archive, scan no. 0000246). An image of a two-armed wrathful śaiva deity from the Vākāṭaka site Mandhal (Nagpur district, Maharashtra, 62 x 46 x 24 cm) was tentatively identified by Hans Bakker as Rudra Andhakāsuravadhamūrti and dated to c. 400 A.D. (Bakker 1997: 107-109, pls. IX-X).
11. The Dravidian art tradition, including the iconographical texts, differs completely and has to be studied separately.
12. As a matter of fact, art historical studies tend to hide this textual diversity and instead present the textual data in a very simplified form by avoiding references to more than a few texts and by assigning names to the depicted deities that are not necessarily representative of the body of texts. This leads to the pretence of a textual dependence, which often does not exist, since the intentions of an *aitihāsika* and a sculptor are very different.
13. Cf. the depiction of a male blood-drinking figure in addition to the goddess in Ellora, cave 15 and 16.
14. Mahiṣāsuramardini images, for example, may show the contribution of other gods in the attributes that she holds.
15. It is interesting to observe that Cāmuṇḍā figures that form part of early mātrikā groups in Elephanta and Ellora do not have an emaciated body, except in cave no. 22 in Ellora. No independent depictions of Cāmuṇḍā are known from that period.
16. The temple has been dated to the 10th century. Cf. Viennot 1976: 249; Krishna Deva 1998 in *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* II/3: 18; Krishna Deva 1995: 167-169. For the sculpture cf. Nagaswamy 2006: 145-147, col. pl. 28, pl. 123; AIIS, acc. no. 49317.
17. There are only two other examples with multiple heads, namely a five-headed Andhakāri from the Liṅgarāja Temple in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, and a sixteen-armed and three-headed Andhakāri from the Vaidyanātha Temple in Baijnath, Kangra district, Himachal Pradesh. For the image from Orissa cf. Melzer 2006: 129, no. Or10. For two other images of a multi-headed Bhairava from Orissa cf. Donaldson 2002: 450, 457-458, figs. 298, 301.

18. A flying male figure as Vārāhi's *vāhana* is found in several individual depictions of the goddess from Bihar and Bengal. It may not represent Garuḍa.
19. Unlike images of Viṣṇu, but similar to contemporary Mahiśasuramardini images from Bengal.
20. Stone images of the twelve-armed Cakrasaṅvara are very rare: (1) from North Bengal in IM, no. 9210/A25188; (2) in a private collection in Switzerland; (3) and (4) from Ratnagiri in Orissa, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, and in the Patna Museum. Cf. D. Mitra 1960; M. Mitra 1998; Linrothe 1999, especially pp. 277-294; M. Mitra 2001. In addition, there are very few bronzes and several miniature paintings on palm leaf manuscripts of Prajñāpāramitā texts from Eastern India. The pedestal in the National Museum, New Delhi, published in Linrothe (1999 fig. 205) belongs in fact to a Vajravārāhi as mentioned in the inscription. Belonging to Buddhist imagery in a similar dancing pose are Heruka and Hevajra.
21. The exact identification is often difficult. Cf. a standing fragmentary three-headed image from Pashchimapara (Vikrampur, Munshiganj district, Bangladesh), now in VRM (no. 124, black basalt, 77.5 x 39.2 cm), published in Saraswati 1977: LXV, no. 179 “Halahala Lokesvara”; Rahman 1998: 33, no. 72, pl. 46 “Kṛṣṇa Yamāri”, with further references; SiB 2008: 162, no. 81, pl. 462 “Kṛṣṇa Yamāri”. A similar image originated in Ratnagiri (Orissa), now in the Patna Museum (no. 6506, mottled beige laterite, 87.6 cm high), published in D. Mitra 1981-83: 431, pl. CCCXXVII(B); Huntington Archive, scan no. 0001894. Both images have six arms, the preserved right hands hold a sword(?) and an *akṣasūtra* and in the left is a *kapāla*.
22. Cf. SiB 2008: 209-210, no. 211, pl. 247. Tibetan paintings of the Buddhist Mahākāla from the 13th century onwards often include an emaciated ferocious goddess, usually called dPal ldan lha mo in secondary sources.
23. An inscribed image of Bhairava in the Asutosh Museum, Kolkata (cf. Banerji 1933 pl. LV.c; Haque 1992: 169, no. 1749, pl. 139; Huntington Archive, scan nos. 0006232, 0006233).
24. This type of images will be studied separately in the context of disease-eradicating deities.
25. Haque 1992: 269-274, 377-379, nos. 1283-1328.
26. A small group of five two- and four-armed images of a skeleton deity associated with a mule has been excluded from the present catalogue because they form the subject of a separate study and do not belong to the group under discussion here. Likewise all early Cāmuṇḍā images are not considered because they differ from the types studied in this article and they would deserve a separate study. Cf., e.g., the Cāmuṇḍā from the group of Saptamāṭrkās from Saraikela, Jharkhand, now in the Patna Museum, published in D.C. Bhattacharyya 1991, pl. 60; AIIS acc. nos. 7905, 7946; Huntington Archive, scan no. 0002589 (1969); or a Cāmuṇḍā offered in Christie's New York, 17 Sept. 1998: 34, lot 28.
27. For example in the invocation (om *namaś carccikāyai* II) and in the first two opening verses of the Bangarh *praśasti* in the Balurghat College Museum. The Cāmuṇḍā image no. 25 is referred to in an inscription as carccikā. There are also Buddhist deities with the name Carcikā and Vajracarcikā.
28. The type of skeletal deity with a scorpion has been identified as Bhadrakālī in the legend

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of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Granoff 1980 on the basis of a single passage from the *Skandapurāṇa*. This identification, however, should be re-examined.

29. For the *śavavāhana* in general and with special reference to Orissa cf. Donaldson 1991.
30. Occasionally the corpse has been called Mahākāla in secondary sources.
31. The depicted animals deserve further research. According to Van der Geer 2008 (pp. 426-427) hyenas have never been represented in Indian art. The relevant chapter on jackals (150-158), however, is based on very little sculptural evidence.
32. The Ashok Nandi Collection in Shibbari has an interesting large pedestal with a frontal tree, jackals and presumably other animals that belong in the cremation ground. However, it is unclear whether it belongs to a Bhairava or a goddess or a Buddhist deity. The preserved foot of the deity does not show skeletal features.
33. As can be found in other regions, e.g., in Padhauri and Kalanjar (M.P.); in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan; in Kotwali (Rewa district, MP; AIIS acc. no. 10988), in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. H. 75; Joshi 1989 II.2: 126, no. 152, pl. 51; AIIS acc. no. 44997); in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (d'Argencé & Tse 1969: 50-51).
34. Cf. verse 7.10 (ed. Vasudeva) or 7.11 (ed. Paramahāṃsamiśrah). I am grateful to Prof. Alexis Sanderson for bringing this textual reference to my knowledge. For further references and the less convincing attempt to identify the gesture as *sūcihasta* cf. Granoff 1980: 81-82.
35. Needless to say that the images that could be considered as predecessors of these are not to be found in late Bengal art, but must have been carved much earlier, e.g., during the time of the cave temples at Ellora.
36. The Cāmuṇḍā images from Orissa share many characteristics with the images from Bihar and Bengal, however, there are also differences, especially in the later representations from North Bengal. They have been studied extensively by Donaldson. Cf. Donaldson 1991; Donaldson 2002: 412-440. For Andhakāri images from Orissa cf. also Melzer 2006.
37. Cf., e.g., (1) in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan in Varanasi; (2) in Kandhara, Sonbhadra district, U.P. (Tewari et al. 1994-94 pl. 53); (3) in the British Museum (no. 1872,0701.82; cf. Russek 1986: 43, no. 34); (4) in the Archaeological Museum in Khajuraho (no. 1283; AIIS acc. nos. 59368, 88036); (5) Sotheby's New York, 24th Sept., 1997: 147, lot 176; (6) in the Yoginī temple in Bheraghat inscribed with *Śrī candikā* (no. 39; cf. Granoff 1980: 84, fig. 17; Dehejia 1986: 198 and lower fig. on p. 136; inscription not visible anymore).
38. In this article the well-known iconographical texts have not been discussed since they do not contribute significantly to the general understanding of the deities. The elephant hide of the goddess and of the wrathful Śiva is often mentioned in the texts, however a reference to the human body on the trident of Cāmuṇḍā still needs to be found. For the typical gesture of Cāmuṇḍā important iconographical texts like the *Agnipurāṇa* or the *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya* do not offer an explanation. The question of whether a particular form of Cāmuṇḍā with a few minor differences from another form of the same goddess should be named differently or not is outside the scope of the present article. The correct interpretation of texts is also difficult in so far as it is not always clear what role a certain text has played in a specific time and in a specific region. For a summary of iconographical data from the texts cf., e.g., Donaldson 2002; 397-412, 433-434.

## Ardhanārī-Viṣṇu—Origin of the Concept and Antiquity of the Image

### SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

In an article published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, 1963, pp. 73ff., P. Pal has drawn our attention to the composite form of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī in a bronze sculpture and in a *pata*, both from Nepal, as well as in a *dhyāna* quoted in the *Tantrasāra*. S. B. Deo has described in his paper ‘Some Ardhanārī Forms of Viṣṇu’<sup>1</sup> twelve late mediaeval icons depicting Ardhanārī form of Viṣṇu in the Nārāyaṇa temple in the Svāthe locality adjacent to the Sundari Chowk at Lalit Patan (Nepal). All the twelve images have labels which reveal the following names—(1) Keśava-Lakṣmī (2) Nārāyaṇa-Sarasvatī, (3) Mādhava-Dāntī, (4) Govinda-Kānti, (5) Viṣṇu-Dāntī, (6) Madhusūdana-Vidhṛti, (7) Trivikrama Atīcchā, (8) Vāmana-Atipātī, (9) Śrīdhara-Dhṛti, (10) Hṛṣīkeśa-Mohinī, (11) Dāmodara-Matimā(?), and (12) Padmanābha Dharmadā. According to Deo, the Ardhanārī concept of Viṣṇu “for which no iconographical precedence can be had in India” developed in Nepal during the mediaeval period. P. Pal in his valuable work entitled *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal*, while dealing with Vāsudeva-Kamalajā in Chapter VI (‘Composite Icons’) states (p. 137)—“a type of image is found where the two divinities are delineated in a composite manner” and “a large number of such images, both in sculpture and in painting, are known”. He further observes that “the proliferation of such icons attests the popularity of the concept, and although the type is described in Indian liturgical texts, no plastic representation there has yet come to light”. He has, however, discussed with illustrations three images of the type from Nepal, the earliest of them is painted on a *pata* (Fig. 109 of his work and **Plate-XXIX, Fig. 1** of us) at the bottom of which there is an inscription mentioning the date in Nepāla-varṣa 383, Kārttika-su-di 11 (4th November, 1261 A.D.). Reference has also been made by him to a thirteenth century A.D. sculpture in Kathmandu (not illustrated) and to two other illustrated images, one is in bronze (Fig. 107 of his work and **Plate-XXIX, Fig. 2** of us), now in the Museum fur Volkerkunde at Basel in Switzerland and dated by him to the fifteenth century, and the other is a stone sculpture (Fig. 108 of his work and **Plate-XXIX, Fig. 3** of us) standing in a niche in the Durbar square at Kathmandu and assigned to the 17th century A.D.

Interestingly enough, D.C. Sircar has drawn our attention to an inscription in the Śītalā temple at Gaya (Bihar) of a local ruler Yakṣapāla who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D.,<sup>2</sup> Verse 12 of which records that Yakṣapāla excavated the Uttaramānasa tank, founded a *sattrā* (free feeding centre) adjacent to the Akṣayavatā and also created a temple for the accommodation of several deities including one called Kamalārdāṅgina-Nārāyaṇa meaning ‘Nārāyaṇa, one half of whose body is Kamalā (Lakṣmī)’.<sup>3</sup> Doubtlessly the concept of the composite form of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī mentioned

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in the inscription is imitated from the very popular Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva, in which the right half represents Śiva and the left his consort Pārvatī. The image mentioned in the inscription, which is earlier than the specimens described by Pal and Deo was under worship at Gaya in Bihar, “so that the conception does not appear to have originated in Nepal, but was imported from East India to that land”, as has rightly been pointed out by D. C. Sircar.<sup>4</sup> Sircar further observes that “the prevalence of the worship of the said deity in Eastern India is also suggested by the *dhyāna* in the *Tantrasāra* which was compiled by the Bengali Tantric named Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa in the seventeenth century”.<sup>5</sup> He has also mentioned in this connection that the *Brahmavaivarata Purāṇa* seems to refer to a form of Viṣṇu having two arms on the right side and four arms on the left”<sup>6</sup> and, according to him,<sup>7</sup> this “may be a combined image, the left half being the wife of the right half”. It is also pointed out by him that “no specimen of such images, however, seems to be known”.

What is of absorbing interest in this connection is that recently K. S. Behera<sup>8</sup> has drawn our attention to a composite image of Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī, in the famous Jagannātha temple of Puri, Orissa, built in the 12th century A.D., in his paper being published in the *Prācyaprajñāpradīpa (Professor Dr. Samarendra Bandyopadhyay Felicitation Volume on Early Indian History and Culture)*, edited by Professor Dr. I.W. Mabbett (Honorary Fellow, Monash Asia Institute, Australia, and Emeritus Professor of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Aichi Bunkyo University, Nagoya, Japan). The image (**Plate-XXX, Fig. 1**), one half of whose body is male and another female, is, as we may point out, a seated one unlike the three images discussed and illustrated by Pal and the twelve images discussed with illustrations by Deo, referred to above. The attributes in the hands of Viṣṇu from bottom to top are conch, club, wheel and lotus and the attributes in the hands of Lakṣmī in the same order are manuscript, decorated vase, mirror and lotus..

It has, however, escaped the notice of Behera<sup>9</sup> that the image from the Jagannātha temple of Puri is of great importance from various points of view. First, it shows that the concept of the composite form of Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī or Ardhanārī-Viṣṇu became quite popular in East India long before it became so in Nepal and that it goes a long way to establish the contention of D. C. Sircar, based on literary and epigraphic evidence, that the concept is of East Indian origin. Secondly, the opinion of Deo that “no iconographic precedence can be had in India” or that of Pal that “although the type is described in Indian liturgical texts, no plastic representation there has yet come to light” or also that of Sircar “that no specimen of such images, however, seems to be known” requires modification.<sup>10</sup> Later Pal<sup>11</sup> has, however, drawn our attention to an eight-armed composite bronze image (**Plate-XXX, Fig. 2**) of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī riding on Garuḍa from Kashmir which he tentatively assigns to the 12th century A.D. Earlier than Pal, as it may be pointed out, R. C. Agrawala<sup>12</sup> published in 1967 an excellent image (**Plate-XXX, Fig. 3**) of the

same deity in stone from Kashmir and remarked that “this particular motif of the composite aspect of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī was popular in Kashmir Hill during 9-10th century A.D.”. If Agrawala’s view is correct, then the concept of Ardhanārī-Viṣṇu seems to have originated in Kashmir and the antiquity of the image of the same deity has to be pushed back to c.9-10th century A.D. D. Handa,<sup>13</sup> on the basis of a badly damaged bust of ‘half-male and half-female’ image from Jaintipur in the Panchkula District of Haryana, which he assigns to the 8th century A.D., however, opines that “the innovation was made first in Haryana and followed later on in other parts of the country”. The image, as Handa himself admits, is not traceable now and its photograph published by him being too indistinct, it is difficult to be certain on the issue.<sup>14</sup>

#### **Reference:**

1. *Bhāratī*, Vol. X-XI, 1966-1968, pp. 125-133.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 92ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
4. Cf. *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, edited by D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1970, p. 133.
5. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Piṭhas*, 2nd Revised Edition, 1973, pp. 74ff.
6. *Prakṛti-khaṇḍa*, XXXV, 10-12.
7. Cf. *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, edited by D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1970, p. 133.
8. Slightly before his death on May 20, 2008, he graciously favoured me with a photograph of the pencil-sketch of the image (Fig. IV).
9. Behera has not cited any evidence in support of his statement that “the images depicting composite form of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa are known from Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh....”.
10. Kalpana S. Deasi also was not aware of any composite image of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī when she published in 1964 her paper ‘Some Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Images from Western India’ in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Volume 14, 1964, p. 396. In his exceedingly interesting article ‘The Composite Image of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī’, D. C. Bhattacharyya (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, 1966, pp. 261-266) elaborately dealt with the iconological details of the image from different texts and a Newari inscription but has not been able to draw attention to any image excepting the two images cited by Pal in his paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, referred to above.
11. *Bronzes of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 76 and Fig. 13.
12. *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 17, 1967, pp. 278-279 and Fig. 10.
13. *Sculptures from Haryana (Iconography and Style)*, Shimla and New Delhi, 2006, p. 197.
14. I sincerely thank Dr. Vandana Sinha (Director, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi) for her help in verifying certain references.

## **Book Review:**

### **Urban Development in Ancient India**

**Adhir Chakravarti**, Monograph Series No. XLII, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, January 2006  
Price: Rs. 660/-, \$ 66. .

Several trends can be identified in the study of urbanization in Early India. One prominent trend is to situate the urban sites in their particular historical contexts and see them as parts of broader historical processes. Another trend is to look at the city through a different prism, as a complex space caught up in conflicting cultural currents, a space frozen in time and space. The real challenge is to combine these two strands of thought.

Prof. Adhir Chakravarti's discussions follow the first trajectory. It is an important book for students and researchers of early Indian history because it builds up an unbroken, continuous narrative on urbanization in early India. He is concerned with a huge time-bracket, stretching from the blossoming of the first cities of the Harappan Civilization upto 1250 A.D. Prof. Chakravarti has collated an amazing amount of data and handled a wide range of sources. Solid empirical research has been arranged within a simple analytical framework.

In the introductory chapter Prof. Chakravarti sets out to explain the difficulties in handling both archaeological and textual materials. He states that there are several problems in employing archaeology as a tool in reconstructing historical processes. Among others he mentions the problem of identifying and describing specific layers within a site. Generally a straight line is drawn between the thickness of deposits of a layer on one hand and duration of that layer on the other. The author argues that economic prosperity and political stability might produce a sharp rise in population and also a sharp increase in the consumption of goods. Therefore deposit could be accumulated over a much shorter span of time. Relying on negative evidence could also prove to be deceptive. Illustrating this point with the example of Ujjain he suggests that though Ujjain is not too important as far as archaeological finds are concerned, textual materials clearly depict Ujjain as a flourishing city as late as 11-12th century A.D.

Here, Prof. Chakravarti pleads for a dialogue between archaeological and textual sources, to build up a comprehensive picture of urban development in early India. He is also wary of the textual material he attempts to handle. In a detailed analysis of the indigenous and foreign texts of early India he is fully aware of the conflicting stories they often come up with. He is also careful about dating and identifying the various layers of the text. Every text as a social utterance is embedded in a specific cultural context

and has its own role to play in a complex discourse. It is refreshing to see that apart from religious and prescriptive texts the author has engaged himself with legends and creative literature. He argues that inscriptions too can be treated as texts to extract social history and history of living patterns. This is a trend that has a place in Indian history writing for decades. Now of course, a fascinating area has been prized open in epigraphic studies where daring experiments are going on, reading and re reading inscriptions through the lens of social history.

However , as a new and comprehensive methodology is being evolved to write a dynamic history of early India, there is a tiny feeling of regret that Prof. Chakravarti does not elaborate on how to use ethnological material, folk memories, artifacts and other cultural items in tracking urban processes.

He next goes on to define an urban settlement. Basing his argument on Gordon Childe's theories of urban revolution the author traces the transitional phases through which an agrarian unit transcends itself into a non-agrarian urban settlement. Revolutionary changes in productive methods as underlined by Childe helps the author to understand the shifts taking place over a vast region of west and south-west Asia as early as 4000 B.C. Against this backdrop he explores the problems regarding the first flowering of Harappan urbanism. Thumbnail sketches of the early harappan sites are given with a brief survey of topography and elements of material culture.

Next the mature Harappan sites are discussed succinctly positing them in their specific ecological zones. Elements of town-planning, crafts and other components of material culture have been analyzed with a stress on the monotonous standardization that characterized the Indus cities. In the opinion of Prof. Chakravarti this rigid monotony implies an integrated zone welded together by trade and commercial culture.

Explaining how the urban features of the settlements gradually waned Prof. Chakravarti cites the familiar theories of changes in ecological patterns and decline in long distance trade.

After the fall of the Indus cities, there is according to Prof. Chakravarti a clear break in urbanism. The next phase of urbanization starting around 6th c. B.C. in a different setting sprouted from an essentially different material milieu. He unambiguously highlights the role of iron as the determining factor in the second urbanization. Though he states, that the impact of iron was not immediate in society as the PGW sites associated with iron do not yield iron tools in large numbers. The forested tracts in the Ganga Valley could be burnt down and the real change came when iron technology was harnessed to agrarian production. Sociological theories of A. Ghosh and D.K. Chakraborty have been mentioned but harmoniously integrated with the role of iron as an agent in social change. Iron ploughshare revolutionized surplus production and culminated in large scale urban

### Book Review

development in north and north-west India. But here a linear narrative waters down the nuances of the situation. Agrarian surplus, agro-based industries, and trade linkages facilitated the growth of urban units as complex, stratified and nucleated areas with new ideological propensities. But the author does not clearly flesh out the relationship between urban development, the break up of tribal systems and emergence of incipient states. The ideological and religio-philosophical dimensions of the process are also swept aside. Thumbnail sketches of the relevant sites with their structural characteristics are useful for students and researchers.

Prof. Chakravarti relates the escalation in the process of urbanization with commercial links with west Asian and Mediterranean worlds. The west coast of India studded with port cities added a new dimension in the urban landscape.

As far as south India is concerned the author is of the opinion that urban societies seeped into the peninsula through Mauryan agency and spread of the state system.

The next portion of the volume asserts that, from 4th c. A.D. changes in trading networks and movement of goods and people brought about shifting trends in urban growth. Trade with the West petered out while new linkages were formed with south-east and east Asia. Old towns dwindled into mere settlements, while the eastern coast was studded with new ports and cities. Here the author deviates from the thesis of widespread urban decay, but at the same time argues that the loss of roman gold cast a shadow over many ports and inland towns of north, west and south-western India. Though he argues that the focus now shifted to the eastern coast, he does not take account of the fact that, from 6th c.A.D. the moribund ports of western India got a fresh lease of life, when networks with the west were revived through the Persian Gulf sea-routes.

The author argues that around 8th century A.D. a perceptible boom in the commercial circles entailed a rejuvenation of urban life. With the rise of the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad and a revival of the ancient western Asia-China-India maritime trade the process of urbanization regained its pace. At the same time, the burgeoning imperial powers like Pālas, Gurjara-Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas signified political stability and organized enterprises.

1000-1200 A.D. is considered in this volume as a period of steady urban growth, though the imperial facade was beginning to crack up and a multiplicity of political entities enlivened the historical arena.

Thus ends the narrative which weaves together the chequered history of cities in early India. For students and researchers this is indeed a handy volume. Urban development in Early India as a theme has been treated intensively but in episodes, phase by phase, in a fragmented discourse. Here an unbroken narrative treats the theme as a whole, incorporating the fragments into a theoretical pattern.

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But in this quest for synthesis several complex processes are glossed over. For example, the spread of urban societies into non-urban zones, its mode of operation and incorporation and diffusion of cultural symbols, revealing the subterranean layers of the urbanization process are themes not dealt with here. Its relationship with unified empires, administered trade and commercial culture has been simplified. The fragmented world order of the post-Gupta period vividly described in literary and epigraphic material has not been considered against specific cultural backdrops.

The city here is not seen as a space that is topical as well as topographical, as a populated place, as a place of action. The urban landscape in early India reveal multiple patterns of life. The props of city life, the guilds, the religious shrines, the household, the craftsman's workshop all emerge as spaces within the body of the city, where all the creative and productive pursuits of the people are played out. Here everyday life and the life of the novel, the mundane and the brilliant blend together. But of course, that is another story.

**Preeta Bhattacharya**

## **Departmental Activities: 2008–2009**

### **1. Endowment Lecture:**

#### **A. Swami Nirlepananda Lecture, 2007**

*20 & 21 November 2008*

\* Speaker: Professor Sukla Das  
Department of History  
Jadavpur University

Topic: **Yukti Mananer Abhimukhe Yātrā: Caraka-Śuśrata Samhitār Āloke Prāchīna Bhāratīya Cikitsā Vijñāner Kayekti Dik (in Bengali)**

#### **B. Swami Nirlepananda Lecture, 2008**

*3 February, 2009*

\* Speaker: Professor Chitrarekha Gupta  
Formerly of Department of Archaeology  
University of Calcutta

Topic: **Females & Image of Feminine in the Inscriptions of Bengal & Kāmarūpa**

### **2. Monthly Lecture Programme:**

*25 November 2008:*

\* Speaker: Rajat Sanyal  
Guest Lecturer, Department of Archaeology  
University of Calcutta

Topic: **Early Mediaeval Archaeology in West Bengal: Nature of Epigraphic Sources**

*22 November 2008:*

\* Speaker: Dr. Krishnendu Ray  
Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,  
University of Calcutta

Topic: **Rājbhiṭā Stone Slab Inscription of the Time of Mahīpāla I, regnal year 33: Economic, Social and Cultural Implications**

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**20 January, 2009:**

- \* Speaker: Professor Gouriswar Bhattacharyya  
Free University, Berlin  
Topic: **Iconography of Vishnu Images and Connected Inscriptions in Bengal**

**23 February, 2009**

- \* Speaker: Gerd J.R. Mevissen  
Independent Researcher, Berlin  
Topic: **Iconographic Peculiarities of Some Nepalese Sculptures Depicting Surya and Other Astral Deities**  
[in collaboration with The Centre of Social Sciences and Humanities,  
University of Calcutta]

**3. UPE Visiting Professors/Fellows Lectures:**

**06 February, 2009:**

- \* Speaker: Dr. Najaf Haider  
Centre for Historical Studies,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
Topic: **Historiography of Early Mediaeval State in India**

**26 February, 2009:**

- \* Speaker: Professor B.P. Sahu  
Department of History, Delhi University  
Topic: **1) Iron and Social Change in India**  
**2) Legitimation in Early India**

**16 March, 2009:**

- \* Speaker: Dr. Sunil Gupta  
Allahabad Museum  
Topic: **1) Archaeology of Periploous Ports**  
**2) The Archaeo-Historical Idea of the India Ocean**

**27 March, 2009:**

- \* Speaker: Professor B.D. Chattopadhyay  
Formerly of Centre for Historical Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
Topic: **Approaches to Early Indian Social History**

**Departmental Activities 2008–2009**

**4. Workshop:**

**25 February, 2009**

**Thrust Area : Teaching Early Indian History**

**5. Raghunath Prasad Nopany Lecture:**

**06 March, 2009:**

\* Speaker: Professor Asok Kumar Das

Former Satyajit Ray Professor of Indian Art,

Visva Bharati, Shantiniketan

Topic: **Colours in the Desert! The Glory of Marwar Painting**

**6. Student Seminar: 2008-2009**

**17 March, 2009**

\* Speaker: Srilata Sinha

Topic: **Harappiyader Paribesh O Sāsthya Sachetanatā**

\* Speaker: Kuntak Chatterjee

Topic: **A Politico-Socio-Economic Study of Some Copper Plates from Bāgh (335-412 A.D.)**

\* Speaker: Sumana Chatterjee and Reshma Sarkar

Topic: **Prāchīn Itihāse Smṛitilekhamālār Avatāraṇā**

\* Speaker: Prosenjit Biswas

Topic: **Ānumānik Khriṣṭapūrva Saṣṭha Śatak theke Ānumānik Kriṣṭapūrva Tritīya Śatak Paryanta Bhāratvarṣer Itihāse Bisheśata Uttar Bhārater Samāje Nārīr Sthān**

\* Speaker: Sudeshna Ganguly

Topic: **Vedic Dharma, Samāj O Arthanātir Preksite**

\* Speaker: Piyali Samajpati

Topic: **Ādi Madhyayug O Madhyayuge Bibhinna Lekha O Sāhityik Upādāner Āloke Kāpālik Dharmācharan.**

## **Our Contributors**

**1. Sudarsana Choudhury (Bhaduri)**

Senior Lecturer & Head of the Department of History, Dinabandhu Andrews College, Kolkata

**2. Suchandra Ghosh**

Reader & Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

**3. Asok K. Bhattacharya**

Formerly Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

**4. Haraprasad Ray**

Former Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

**5. Durga Basu**

Reader and Head of the Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta

**6. Juthika Maitra**

Former Professor, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

**7. Sudipa Ray Bandyopadhyay**

Reader and Former Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

**8. Jayanti Dora**

Senior Lecturer, Department of History, Sambalpur University

**9. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta**

Former Bageswari Professor of Indian Art, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta & Formerly Vice-Chancellor, University of Kalyani

**10. Gerd J.R. Mevissen**

Formerly of Free University, Berlin, Germany

**11. Noor Bano Sattar**

Senior Lecturer & Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and World History, Sanskrit College, Kolkata

### **Our Contributors**

**12. Ranjusri Ghosh**

Research Fellow, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata

**13. Rajat Sanyal**

Lecturer, Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta

**14. Mahua Mukherjee**

Professor, Department of Dance, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata

**15. Sharmila Saha**

Cataloguer, State Archaeological Museum, West Bengal

**16. Gudrun Melzer**

University of Leipzig

**17. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay**

Former Professor, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

**18. Preeta Bhattacharyya**

Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

## Publications of the Department:

### Some Important Publications of the Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture

Author	Title of the Books/Proceedings/Special Volumes	Year of Publication	Price (Rs.)
R. S. Sharma	Indian Feudalism, c. 300-1200	1965	15.00
D. C. Sircar (ed.)	Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India	1966	17.50
J. N. Banerjea	Paurānic and Tantric Religion	1966	12.50
D. C. Sircar (ed.)	The Śakti Cult and Tara	1967	10.00
B. B. Majumdar	Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend	1969	20.00
D. C. Sircar (ed.)	Bhārata War and Paurānic Genealogies	1969	10.00
D. C. Sircar (ed.)	<i>Prācyavidyātaranīgīti</i>	1969	60.00
D. C. Sircar (ed.)	The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography	1970	12.50
D. C. Sircar (ed.)	Foreigners in Ancient India and Laxmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature	1970	12.00
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Samaresh Bandyopadhyay (ed.)	Ācārya-Vandanā (D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume)	1984	145.00
K. K. Dasgupta (ed.)	Buddhism: Early and Late Phases	1985	40.00

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Samaresh Bandyopadhyay (ed.)	Dinesa-Vandana (D. C. Sircar Commemoration Volume)	1986	40.00
D. R. Das	Temples of Ranipur Jharial	1990	145.00
Juthika Maitra (ed.)	Medical Science in Ancient India	1995	100.00
Samaresh Bandyopadhyay (ed.)	Prācyāśikṣasuhasini (Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Celebration Volume)	1999	400.00

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Editor	Volume	Year of Publication
D. C. Sircar	I (in memory of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri)	1968
D. C. Sircar	II (in memory of Sir Asutosh Mookherjee)	1969
D. C. Sircar	III	1970
D. C. Sircar	IV (in memory of Abanindranath Tagore)	1971
D. C. Sircar	V	1972
D. C. Sircar	VI	1973
D. C. Sircar	VII (in memory of D.R. Bhandarkar)	1975
D. C. Sircar	VIII	1976
Kalyan Kr. Ganguly	IX (D.R. Bhandarkar Centenary Number)	1976
Kalyan Kr. Ganguly	X	1977
Sisir Kumar Mitra	XI	1979
Sisir Kumar Mitra	XII	1980
Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta	XIII (in memory of Professor Benoychandra Sen)	1983
Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta	XIV (in memory of Dr. Niharranjan Ray)	1984
Samaresh Bandyopadhyay	XV ( <i>Dineśa-Vandanā</i> : D. C. Sircar Commemoration Volume)	1986
	XVI	

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D. R. Das	XVII	1990
D. R. Das	XVIII	1991
A. K. Bhattacharyya	XIX	1994
Juthika Maitra	XX	1997
Subid Chattopadhyay	XXI (in memory of Professor Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta)	2003
Subid Chattopadhyay	XXII (in memory of Professor Amarendranath Lahiri)	2007
Subid Chattopadhyay	XXIII (in memory of Professor D. C. Sircar)	2007
Sudipa Ray Bandyopadhyay	XXIV (in memory of Professor J. N. Banerjea)	2008
Sudipa Ray Bandyopadhyay	XXV (Silver Jubilee Volume)	2009
Suchandra Ghosh	XXVI	Forthcoming

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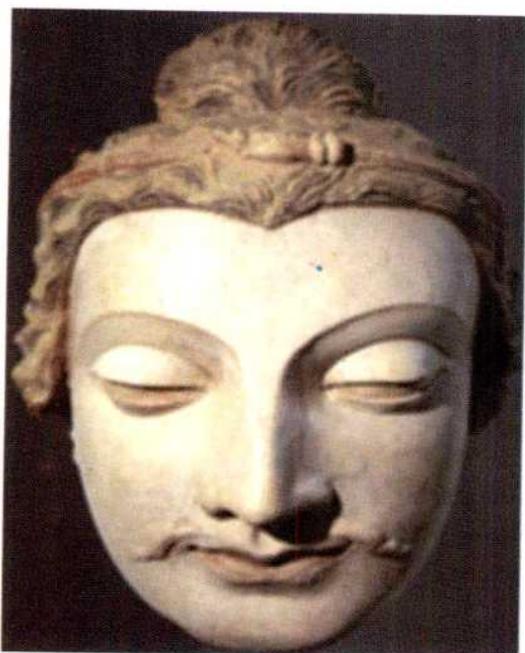


Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 4

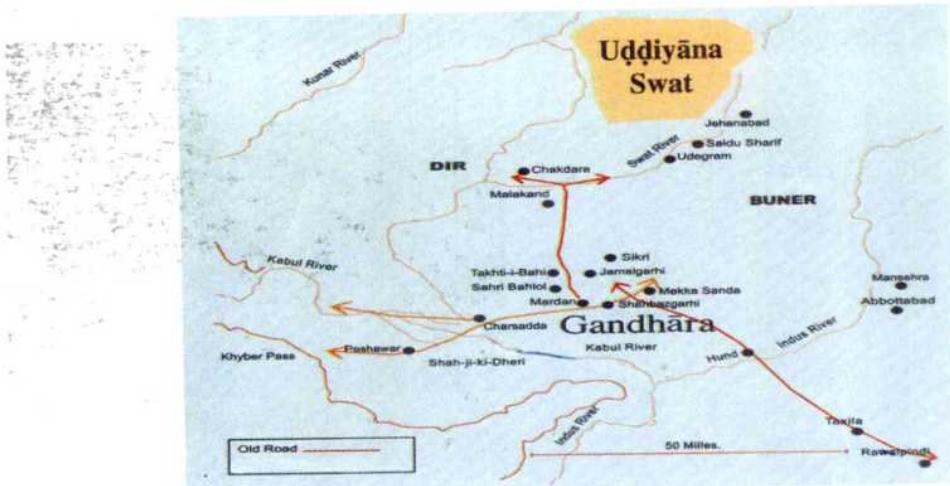


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Plate - III



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Plate - IV



Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2

Plate - V



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Plate - VI



Fig. 1

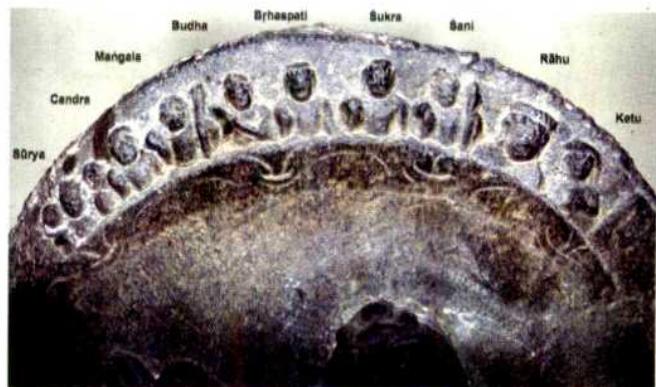
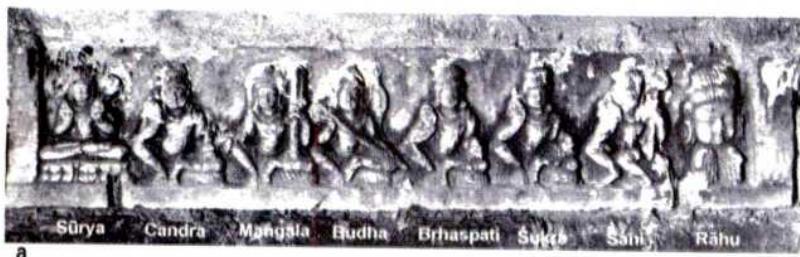


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Plate - VII



a

Fig. 1

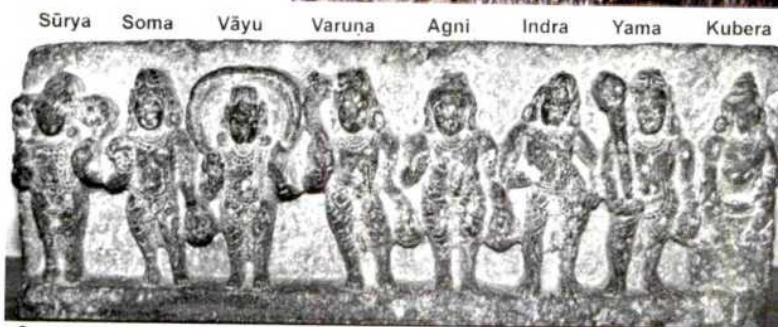


b

2nd Group: Astalokapālas



Fig. 2



a

Fig. 3



b

Sūrya   Soma   Vāyu   Varuna   Agni   Indra   Kubera   Yama

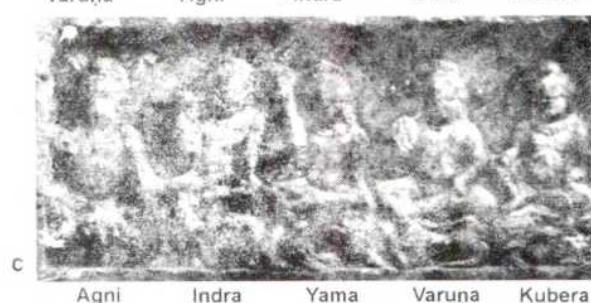
Plate - VIII



a



b



c

Fig. 1

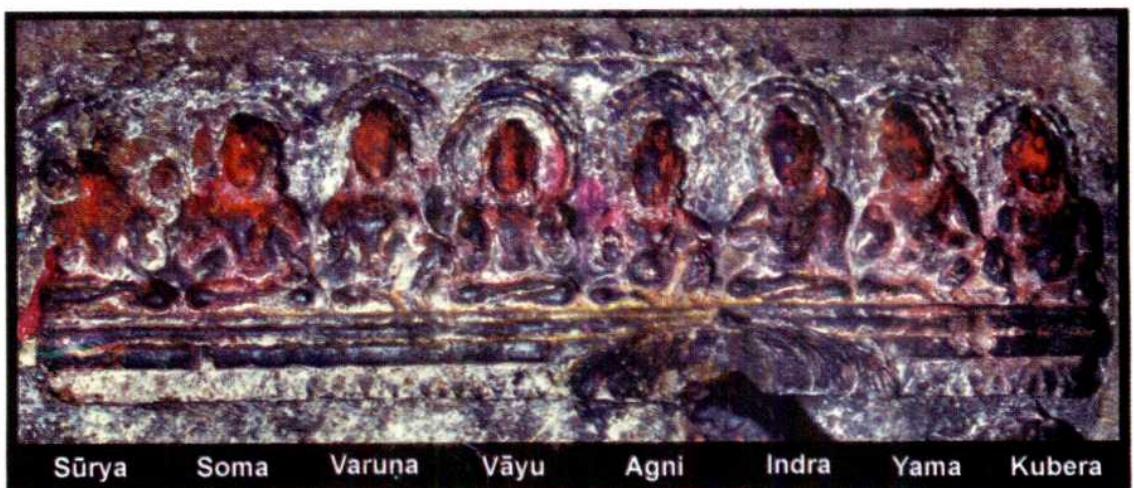


Fig. 2

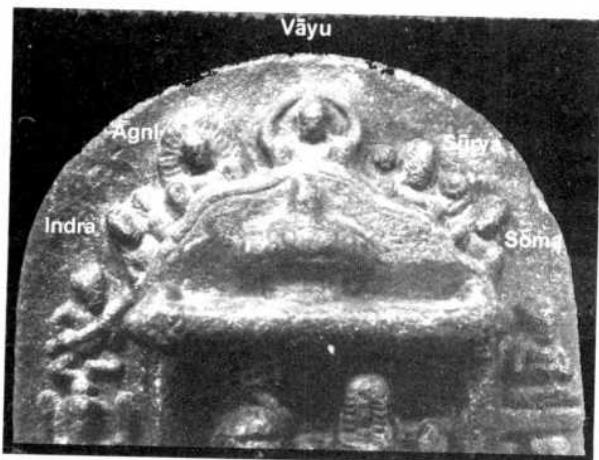


Fig. 1

Plate - IX



Navagrahas (reverse) Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Plate - X



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Plate - XI



Fig 1



Fig 2

Plate - XII



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Plate - XIII



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 1

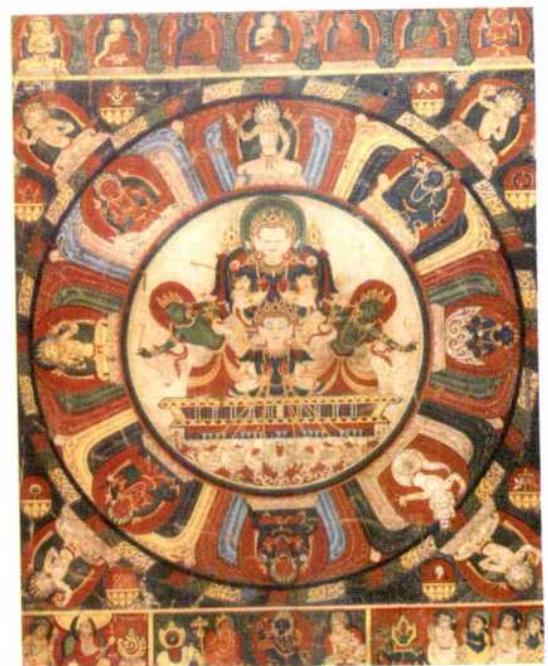


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Plate - XV



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3.



2. Illustration of figure 2



3. Illustration of lower figure in figure 2



1. Illustration of figure 2

Plate - XVII



Fig. 1

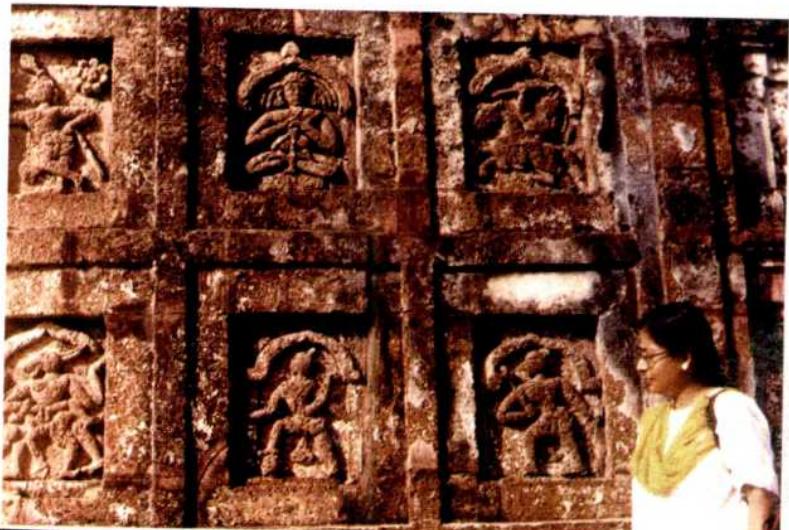


Fig. 2

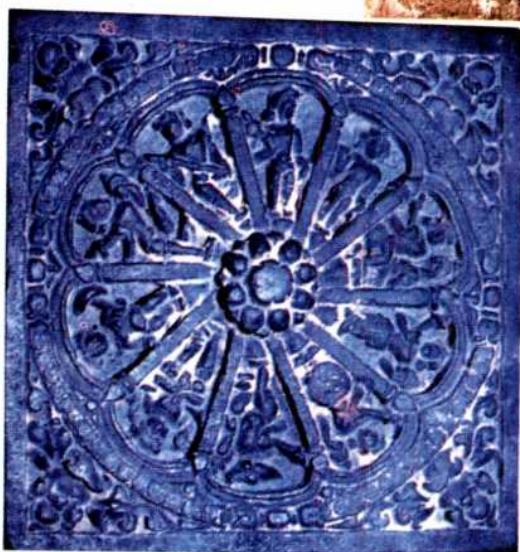


Fig. 3



Fig. 1

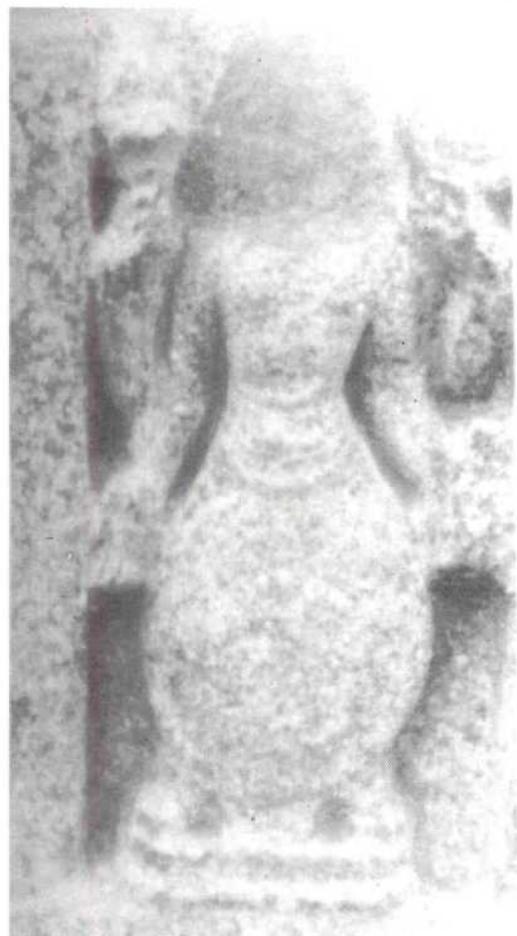


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Plate - XIX



Fig. 1

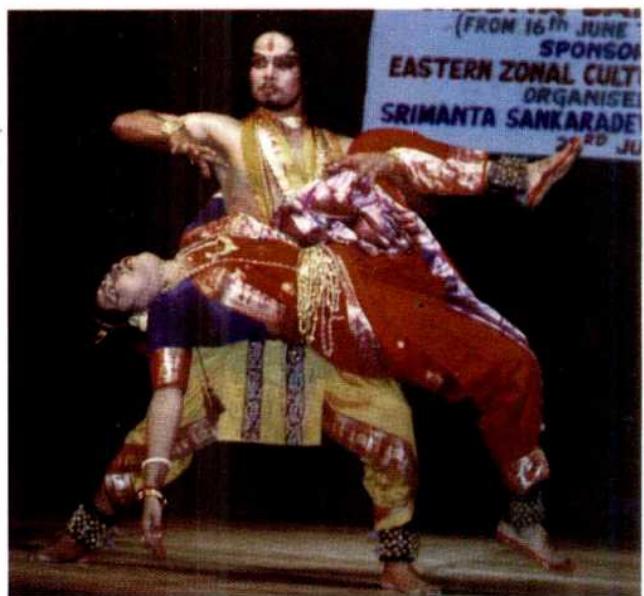


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Plate - XX



Fig. 1



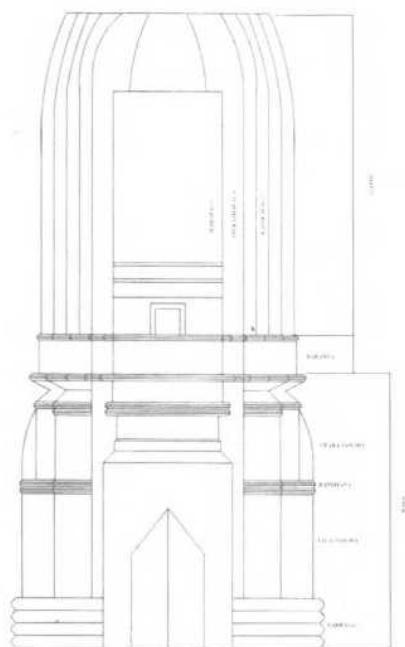
Fig. 2



Fig. 1

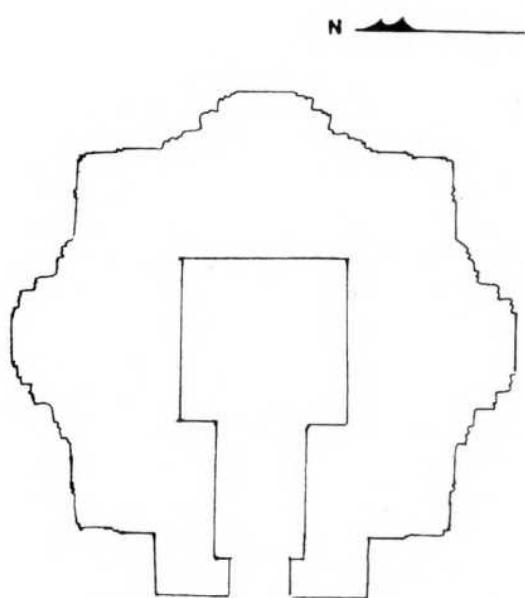


Fig. 2



Not to Scale

Fig. 3



Scale 6"=1"

Fig. 4

Plate - XXII



Fig. 1

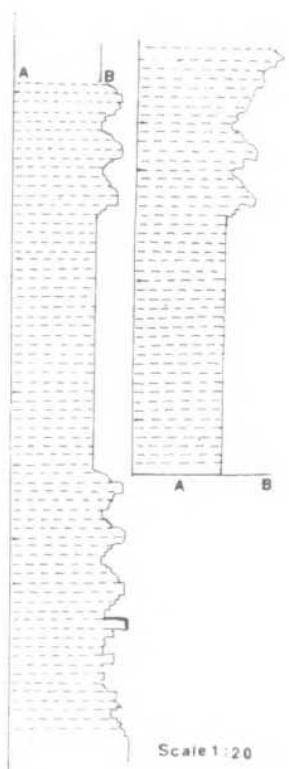


Fig. 2

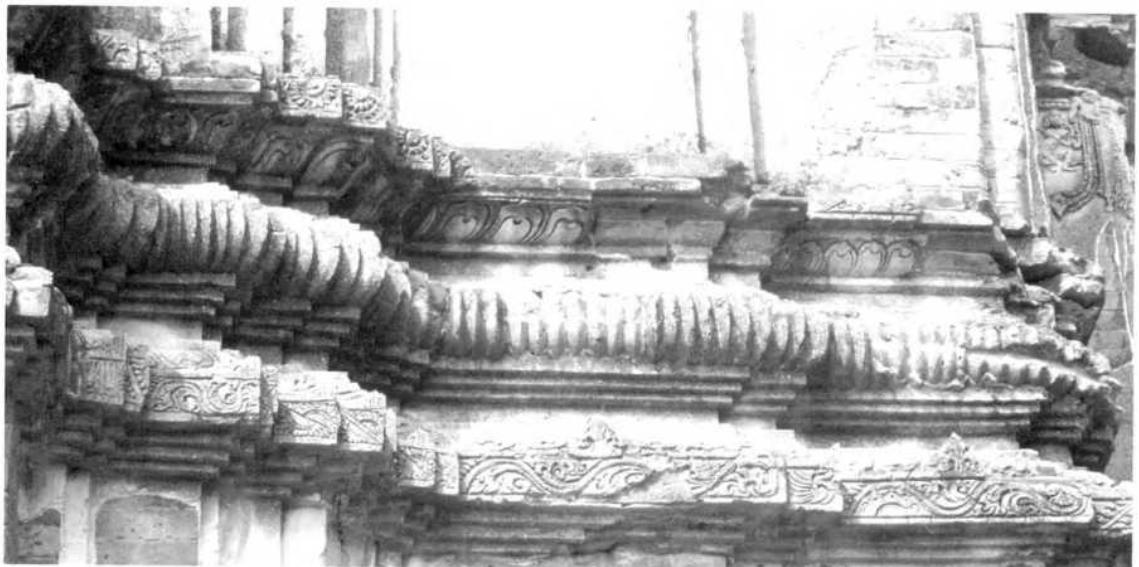


Fig. 3

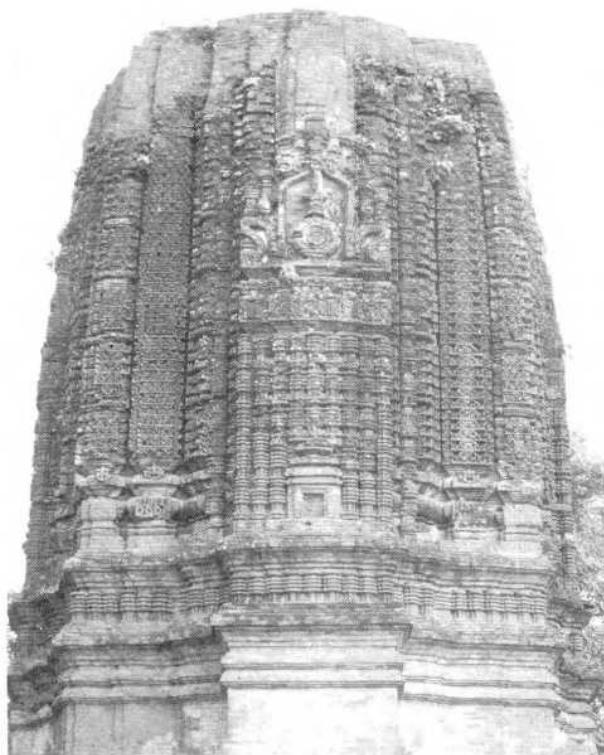


Fig. 1

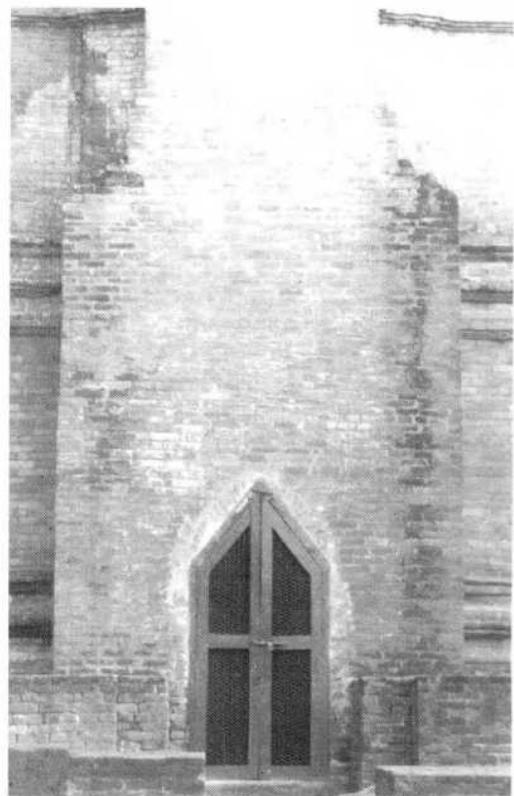


Fig. 2

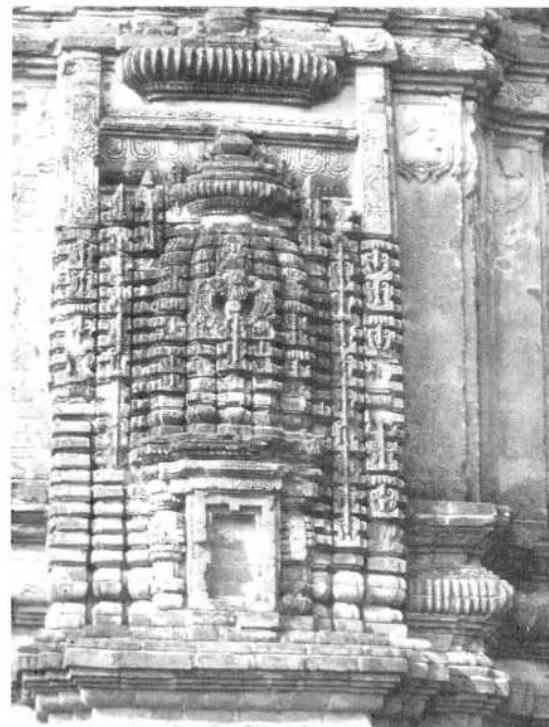
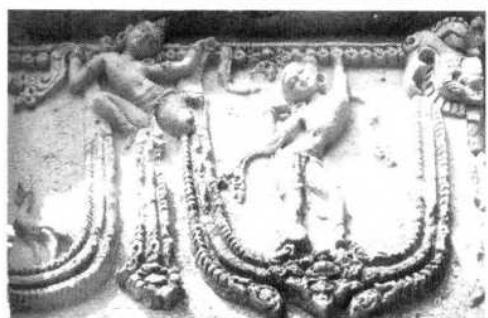


Fig. 3



A



B

Fig. 4



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

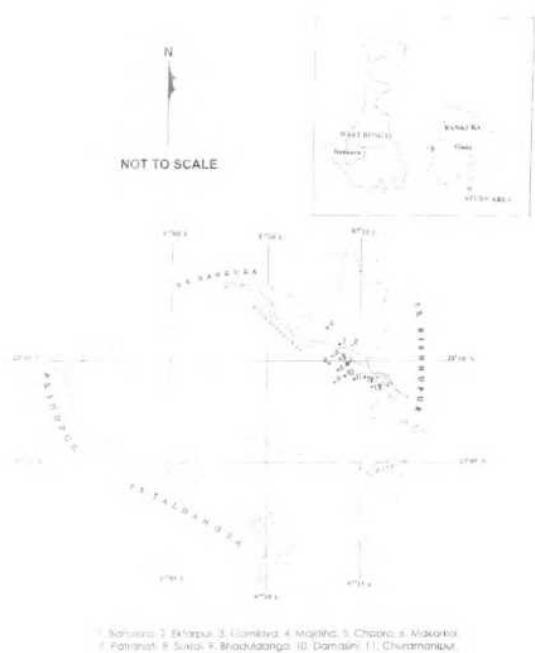


Fig. 3

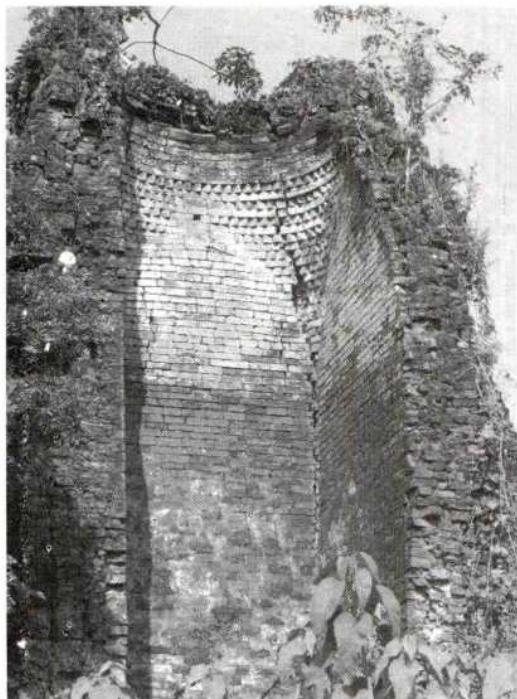


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Plate - XXVI



Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2

Plate - XXVII



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Plate - XXIX

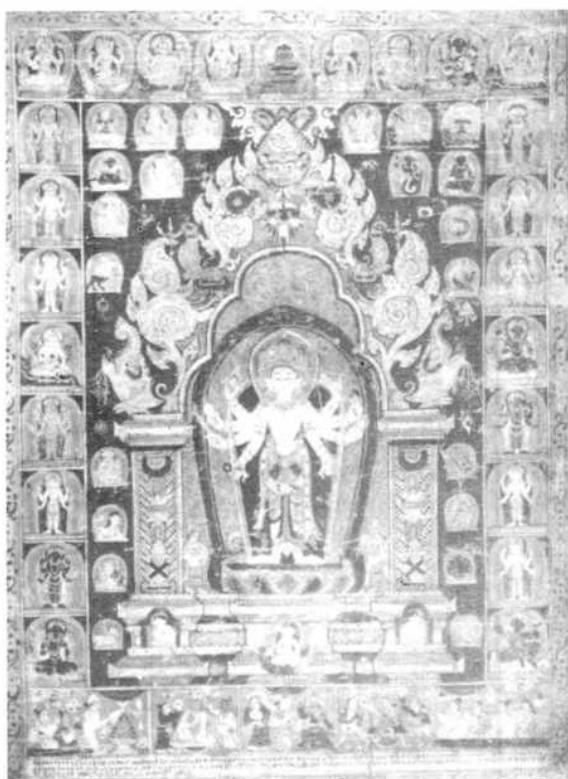


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3